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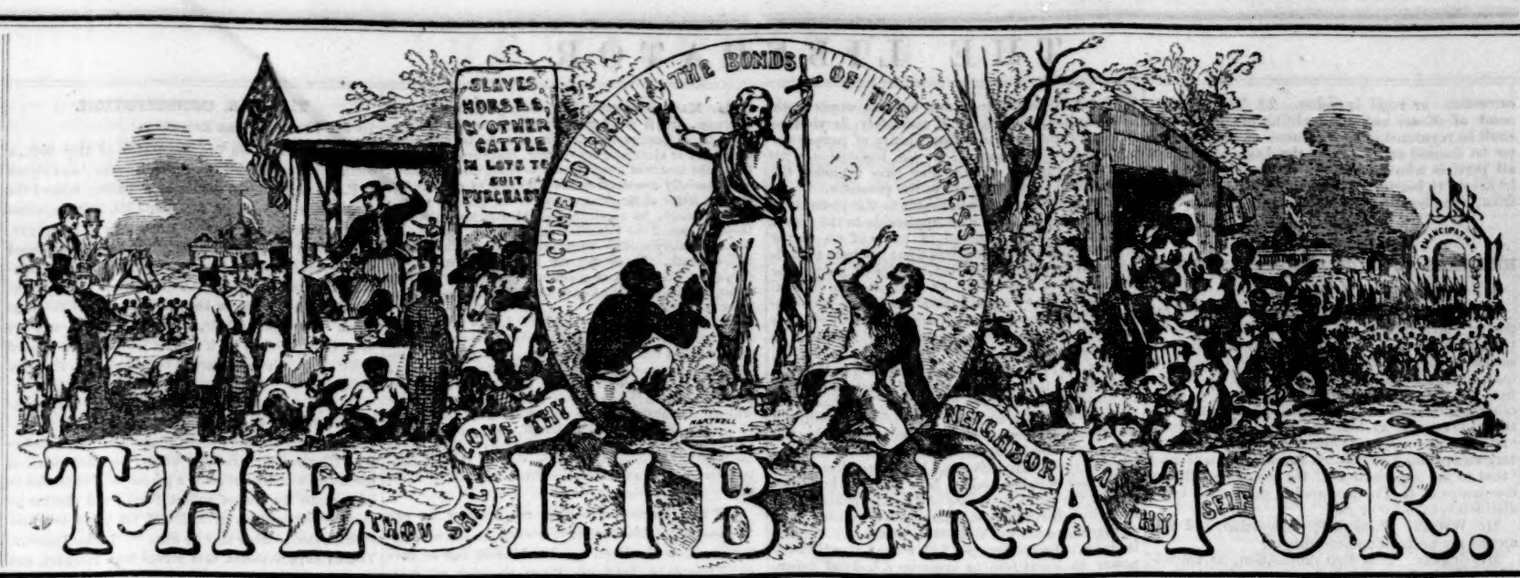
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE TO BE LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'YES! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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THE LIBERATOR.

REVIEW OF MR. MANN'S LETTER.

PORTLAND, JUNE 4, 1853.

MR. GARRISON:

I wish to offer to your readers a few remarks on the Hon. HORACE MANN's letter of May 20th, published in THE LIBERATOR of June 3d. Mr. Mann wishes whoever may write on the subject to give his name. The public are welcome to know the name of the writer of whatever comes from my pen, so far as the name is of any value in strengthening or weakening an argument. Some readers, however, may and do decide the value of an argument solely upon the fact of authorship.

If Mr. Mann had taken the ground that the Constitution is anti-slavery, I had been silent, with whatever success he might have argued it. This he has not done, but argues on the presumption and supposition that it is pro-slavery; and if, in his next letter, he takes the anti-slavery interpretation, it will not affect the logic of his last letter.

An excellent writer on Logic uses the following language:—

'Mathematicians, in all their writings, follow this method:

'1. They fix the meaning of their words, defining their terms each in its place, and make it an *invariable* rule never afterwards to use any term but in the sense to which it is limited by their definition.

'2. They lay down the axioms which they will have occasion to use in the course of their work.

'3. They add their postulata, (uncontradictable propositions,) which also they demand to be granted as evident of themselves.

'4. They then demonstrate their propositions, as far as may be, affirmatively; contenting themselves with this rule, that whatsoever they have to prove, they take care to prove it from some truths that have been *granted or proved before.*'

Thus mathematics is made an exact logic, from whose decision there is no escape.

Mr. Mann starts fair with the first point. He says, 'When I speak of *voting*, I mean voting, office-holding, oath-taking, and all; and when I speak of government, I mean both governments, State and National. This for the sake of brevity.' So far, so good. Mr. Mann defines the term 'voting,' as to the object of the present discussion, and says it means *oath-taking* and all; and all that we have to do is to stick to it like mathematicians.

I must pass over the first two columns of Mr. Mann's letter, for brevity's sake; and before I begin to touch his argument, it is necessary to lay down an axiom indispensable in the present discussion; for Mr. Mann is arguing the case with *non-voters*, who hold the Constitution to which he swears by his vote to be pro-slavery; which he must admit, in order to give the argument any weight. Axiom: That whoever votes, takes an oath to support the Constitution under which he votes, and in so doing, swears to support every part of the instrument, individually and collectively. When a man swears to support the Constitution of the United States, he will not deny that he swears that 'no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law'; and he cannot logically deny that he also swears that 'no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.' Certainly, if he swears to the one, he swears to the other, and voting and oath-taking are the same.

Postulata: That by 'persons held to service or labor,' slaves are meant and understood.

'That it is right for the subject under foreign despotisms to snatch and enjoy whatever privilege the ruler allows—rights of trade, the mail, of the public coinage, the courts,' &c. &c.

We will now proceed to try the argument in accordance with the definition axioms and necessary inferences.

Mr. Mann says, 'Now, it may be owing to my blindness or obtuseness, but I was never able to see but one infinitessimal of an argument why a man who thinks he can honestly enjoy all the privileges which the wickedest of governments may concede, should refuse to enjoy this highest of all privileges—the right of being a part of the government itself.'

As I have always entertained a high respect and esteem for Mr. Mann, I must concede all the benefit that he can derive from this self-depreciation, rather than consider it the effect of perverseness. The question is not whether the non-voter in conscientious, but whether he is logical; whether his conclusions result with mathematical certainty from the admitted and acknowledged premises. Had Mr. Mann assumed and proceeded upon the fact that the Constitution is anti-slavery, 'to all intents, purposes and constructions whatsoever,' I might yield the argument, without conceding either blindness or obtuseness, but might submit by simply exclaiming—

'Optics sharp it needs, I ween,
To see what is not to be seen.'

When Mr. Mann speaks of its being innocent to enjoy all the privileges which the wickedest government may concede to the subject, I presume he means only such privileges as are just and right, and not privileges to commit crime and to do injustice. Unless he speaks with this limitation, his inference is not true; and if he does, it is not sound. Cannot Mr. Mann see any reason why the subject, who thinks he may innocently enjoy all the *just* privileges which a wicked government may concede to him, should refuse *to become that wicked government*, if the opportunity offered; and if he can perceive a good reason for such refusal, cannot he perceive an equally good reason for his refusing to become a part of that wicked government, if he must previously swear to do its wickedness in order to become a part thereof? And can he see no reason why he should refuse to swear, if in any case he does not mean to fulfil his oath?

It appears to me that I might leave the whole subject with your readers without another word; but I wish to notice a few more of Mr. Mann's illustrations, which, without any intentional disrespect, I might more properly denominate obfuscations.

Mr. Mann puts forth a number of categories, as self-evident propositions, from which he arrives at the conclusion, as necessary inferences, that we may innocently swear to support a Constitution which requires us to do what he and we are predetermined we never will do.

'When King John summoned his first Parliament,' asks Mr. Mann, 'could a man vote then? When, less than a thousand years ago, slaves were bought and sold in England as they are now in Virginia, could a man vote then, in order to arrest the traffic? When the Stuarts revived the old doctrine of Divine Right, and came near enforcing it upon the people and Parliament, could a man vote or hold office then, to establish the throne of William of Orange? Or, to look at the other aspect of the case, could Clarkson give a vote or Wilberforce be a member of the House of Commons, for the very purpose of mitigating the horrors of the slave trade, and finally of abolishing that traffic itself—could they do this, I say, without damnable sin? And if they, then and there, why not we, here and now?'

Nothing is easier to be answered than this last question, and in such a manner as to put the whole advance corps of categories to instant flight.

If, when King John's first Parliament assembled, they were first obliged to swear that they would sustain King John in one half his villanies, before they could vote to pass any measure for the welfare of the nation, whether they meant to fulfil the oath or not, they were guilty of a damning sin; and if Clarkson and Wilberforce were compelled to swear, and by voting did swear, to continue the piratical traffic in slaves, in order to obtain power to abolish it, and did or did not intend to fulfil the oath, they committed 'a damnable sin'; and the Parliament were compelled, in order to establish the House of Orange, to swear in advance, and by their votes did swear, to support the claims of James II. and the divine right of kings, whether they did or did not mean to abide by the oath—especially if they did not—they were guilty of 'a damnable sin.' But can any one show that they were obliged to do so? If they were, their case was parallel to ours. They were not so compelled. *Their vote* was no such *oath*. They were not subjected to the ordeal of any such Procrustean-bedstead as the Constitution of the United States. They could vote without an oath to do the thing they abhorred and were resolved to overthrow. But before Mr. Mann or you can get the political power, and in the very act of exercising that power, to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law and abolish the traffic, he or you must swear that fugitive slaves *shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due;* and that, too, with a predetermination never to fulfil the oath.

'But let me drive this argument home with one blow more.' If the slaves could obtain the right to vote, and all their other disabilities should remain, nothing but 'blindness' or 'obtuseness' would justify one slave in voting to obtain all his other rights, if that vote was an oath that all the existing disabilities of slaves should remain for an indefinite period, and that he would support the instrument by which these disabilities were continued, though predetermined never to fulfil the oath. Mr. Mann appears to think that there is annihilation in this interrogative, and so there is—to his own side of the discussion.

But I cannot trespass on your columns, and your readers' patience, by noticing in their order each one of Mr. Mann's simoon periods, which appear as if they were designed to blind, stifle and astonish the reader, rather than convince him. I can only notice one more of Mr. Mann's point of argument. It will be sufficient, however, as it covers the whole ground.

'But let us see where this moral partnership in our wicked government begins and ends. There is the voting by which the officers of government are elected; the oath-taking by which they are qualified for the duties of their office; and then the performance of those duties for the benefit of the people. How can these successive acts be philosophically or morally separated from each other? If nobody would buy public lands or accept a pension, the whole public land system and Pension Bureau would be swept away at once. These officers are appointed and their oaths administered for no other purpose but to issue land warrants and pay pensions. Can I take either warrant or pension from an officer who would not have been in existence but for my sake and such as me? Can I require of him to show me his commission, in order to see that it is countersigned by the devil, and so all right, (for without ocular inspection of the devil's sign-manual, I would not employ him, but leave him at once,) and then, having consummated the transaction, turn round and say I had nothing to do with voting for the appointment or the oath-taking of that functionary, but only with the money and the land! * * * * And I cannot see why, if it is wicked to elect a man to office, it is not as wicked to stand waiting impatiently till he is qualified by taking a heaven-defying oath, and then employ him. The truth is, the election, qualification and functions of an officer are part of the same whole. Politically speaking, I cannot separate the duties of an officer, postmaster, custom-house officer, or any other, from the voting that authorized the performance of the duties, and the oath-taking that qualified him to perform them.'

Here is Mr. Mann's strongest point, in meeting and disposing of which, we meet and dispose of his whole argument, from beginning to end.

This appears to me to be a confounding and amalgating of all moral distinctions. It is admitted that the devil is at the head of the government, and that all the subordinate and coördinate parts are the devil's compeers and agents. Now, does a right thing become wrong because (from some known or unknown motive) the devil permits it? No. If the devil, having the supreme power, requires that I should worship him and not God, and exercises that power to inflict pains and penalties in case of disobedience, I must worship God, (as did Daniel,) and brave the penalty. But suppose the devil deems it expedient to exercise toleration, and grants a charter by which all persons may worship according to the dictates of their own consciences or their own interests. Shall I not therefore worship God, because the devil recognises interest and conscience as equals, or because the devil waives his power of inflicting the penalty? And is there no distinction between God-worship and devil-worship, because the devil permits it? But suppose some agent of the devil, dissatisfied with the act of toleration, who finds the worship of God to conflict with his own interest, comes forward and demands, in the devil's name, that this worship shall stop, and says it is against the law. I answer, 'An act of toleration has been passed.' He denies it. I draw the parchment from my pocket, and show him 'the devil's sign-manual,' and am permitted to continue worship without being punished.

Now, can Mr. Mann see no difference between my thus enjoying my just privilege of performing my duty to God, and voting for the devil to be President of the United States, with an oath—that I do not mean to keep—to do the devil's bidding? To buy land, receive pensions, and have and use post-offices, are not *malum in se*, whether the functions of the office are performed by saint or sinner, any more than buying and selling beef and mutton. 'Those officers are appointed, and their oaths administered, for no other purpose than to issue land warrants and pay pensions.' Very good; those are things just and right in themselves, and therefore we may buy land and receive pensions, though they be the devil's agents to do these right things and nothing else. But they take the oath. True, in order to enjoy the benefits of the appointment to do these right things, they swear to do a wrong thing, which they may or may not intend to keep when the occasion comes; and herein they are wrong. If nobody would take the oath, these officers would not be appointed, which would produce great inconvenience in regard to pensions; but men could settle on the public lands, and, with some inconveniences, maintain their claims afterwards, in various ways, as these things have been done before; and if no postmasters, in order to distribute the mail, and nothing else, would take the oath to surrender fugitive slaves—which is no part of their official duty—we could have no government mail; but we could then have a private mail, just as efficient, which might result in a different oath, as a similar enterprise did in the reduction of postage. But their taking an oath to do a wrong thing, which is no part of their official duty, but a trick of the government to bind them to the Juggernaut of Slavery, no more identifies me with their oath, because I employ them to do the right things of their office, than sending a letter to my sister in New Orleans, by her husband, who is a slaveholder, makes me a partaker in the slave traffic.

Mr. Mann perceives that men have, from the state of serfs under absolute despotism, pushed their way to the attainment of their highest right of self-government by the ballot. How did they accomplish all this without voting, before that right was acquired? What men have done, men can do, especially when governed by high, intelligent, unyielding moral considerations. He 'would not sit as a magistrate under the Fugitive Slave Law to save his life'; and yet he thinks that would be an infinitely less offence before God and man than to neglect or refuse to vote. I have nothing to do with Mr. Mann's conscience, but only with his logic. He does not believe that men governed by the highest moral considerations could form a better government than the present, because without these moral considerations it never was done. I must close, lest I become wearisome, though the materials are plentiful for a greatly extended examination.

D. S. GRANDIN.

'A ROWLAND FOR AN OLIVER.'

[Boston Correspondence of the Anti-Slavery Standard.]

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Correspondent magnifieth the Twenty-First of June—And why—He proposeth a new Fast Day—He feareth the Courier—He boweth before Mr. Mann—He quoteth his P. S.—He treateth of the Natural History of Hyenas—He praiseth them—He showeth their analogy to Sigma—He speculateth as to Mr. Mann's demise—He describeth the effect of the P. S.—He giveth Mr. Mann credit for Courage—He thinketh him hard to please—He commenteth on Mr. Mann's Letter, and waxeth didactic and a trifle dull—He promiseth to bestow some more tediousness on the readers, in a certain contingency, &c. &c. &c.*

BOSTON, June 21, 1853.

'The famous Twenty-first of June!' that Lord Byron sung of, once. Famous for being the longest day in the year, and forever glorious as the day of the month when the slaveholders, at Baltimore, gave Mr. Webster his reward for his treason of the 7th of March, 1850. Let it never be said that the abolitionists are unwilling to allow the slaveholders their due. Be their praises forever, on this day, in all our mouths. I once proposed, I believe, (or if I didn't, I do now,) that the 21st of June be held as a Feast, called, perhaps, All Slaveholders' Day, on which nothing shall be said in disparagement of any of that Guild, but every thing that can be scraped together in their praise, because of that great, glorious, transcendent Act of Justice! That One Virtue redeemed a Thousand Crimes. It is no wonder that he slunk, broken-hearted, to Marshfield, and died. Turned out, rejected and ridiculed by the men, to conciliate whose favor he had made himself perdurably infamous, what better thing could he have done?

But I must take care, or the Boston *Courier* will call me 'a hyena' again. Indeed, I suppose I must be one, for the Hon. Horace Mann, in a P. S. to a letter he wrote last week to the *Liberator*, declares that this honorary title, thus bestowed, (not originally self-assumed, as he supposes—amended, only, on my motion, by inserting the word 'laughing' before the word 'hyena,') was unanimously confirmed by the whole Nation. Perhaps you would like to see what he says. Here it is. After disposing of other persons who have had the assurance to criticise his part of the controversy with Mr. Phillips, he goes on:—

'D. Y., the correspondent of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, intimated a less amiable excuse for himself, when lately, in a moment of self-conscious recognition, he suggested for himself the name of 'the laughing hyena.' And all the people shouted, 'Amen!'

'Now, I have no fault to find with the place in Natural History which has been thus unanimously assigned to me. Hyenas are animals that perform a useful purpose in the world, or they would not have been made. They may not be generally popular, (differing from me in that particular, at least;) but they are not without their uses. Mr. Mann, I dare say, speaks from experience. He may have had a convincing taste of my quality. But in order to have been qualified to judge of it, he must himself have undergone an important change. You know that a Hyena resembles the late lamented Sigma in one thing—that his are 'Dealings with the *Dead*,' only. If Mr. Mann has found himself self a subject for the manipulation (or unguipulation) of a hyena, he must have been first *dead*. Now, I, and many others, knew this melancholy fact. And I had a shrewd suspicion that Cock Robin himself knew that he had been killed, and also who killed him. And here he confesses the former under his own sign manual. Perhaps there may be a reasonable difference of opinion on the last point. An impartial Coroner's Jury (*de medietate*, say half Whigs and half Democrats) might, perhaps, hesitate as to the verdict—whether it should be one of *Mann-slaughter* against Mr. Phillips, or of *Felo de se* against that unfortunate gentleman himself.

One consequence, however, that Postscript has had. Of course, everybody reads the P. S. of a letter first, and every confirmed novel-reader (of which intelligent fraternity I have been an unworthy member from my earliest days) reads the last chapter first of all, and infers from that whether it is worth while to begin at the beginning. Now, I must confess that I had not read Mr. Mann's letter in the *Liberator* of June 3d, (and, of course, not that of June 17th,) until I had read this *Postscriptum*. I had not formed so high an opinion of his logic or his rhetoric from his Phillips Letters as to be very curious as to what he could say on any subject that did not make him angry enough to be diverting. I had the best of intentions as to reading it, but am afraid they might have gone with too many others of mine to pave an unmentionable place, had it not been for this stimulus. I have read them both now, and I must say, that they have shown Mr. Mann to possess a quality which his mislikers have denied him. They affirm that Mr. Mann, when not put off his guard by his passions, is sly, cautious, calculating, prudent to the very verge of that virtue. I think they must reconsider their opinion, should they read these two letters. Surely, to write and publish them, as he himself says, 'under his own name, and dated from his own home,' shows an intrepidity, a courage bordering on desperation, in one who has been a lawyer, and who has tried to be a statesman, for which I had never given him credit. He says, indeed, that 'controversy is uncongenial to his nature. His faculties will not work in it.' I cannot but think that Mr. Mann has a just self-knowledge on this latter point, though there may be a diversity of opinion as to the first. I should advise him to apply his faculties in some other direction. He has, clearly, mistaken his mission. At any rate, however it may have been in the time past of his life, I think it highly probable that he will 'loathe controversy' for the time to come. He has certainly had reason to.

I do n't know how far Mr. Mann may consider these remarks as coming within the purview of his paragraph deprecating a Rejoinder—for that is the meaning of it, it strikes me, when done into English. But he is very hard to please, and I hardly know how to frame my remarks in a way to suit him. For instance, in his controversy with Mr. Phillips, he claimed the last word as his right; and yet when Mr. Phillips gave it to him, and retired from the field, leaving him to say what he liked last, he construes it into a flight and an acknowledgment of his victory! And he has n't ceased singing anthems to himself, from that time to this! I wonder what he would have said if Mr. Phillips had refused, instead of according, his demand of being heard last! But I do n't mean to answer him—only to point out one or two things that do n't need answering.

The greatest part of his letter is consumed in arguing points which we Garrisonians have never denied. Of course, human government is necessarily imperfect, and equally, of course, all governments, even the worst, do many good things. Our scruple is this: Can men believing that the Constitution of the United States sustains slavery, as an integral part of itself, swear to support that Constitution, and yet not do what the Constitution requires for the support of slavery, when properly called upon to do it? Is it honest or right to swear to do what we never mean to do? The question is not, at all, how we can do the most good, even to the slave; but what do honesty and honor require of us, as individuals? I hold that I have no right to take a place of power and profit, which I can only get by swearing to do certain things, when I am fully resolved never to do them. It looks to me like obtaining goods on false pretences. Mr. Mann's history is not in the least in point. Wilberforce and Buxton did a good work in Parliament, and Clarkson and Macaulay supported them; but there is no parallelism between the cases, unless Mr. Mann can show that these men *thought their government inherently and fundamentally bad*, and that they themselves were bound to do things wicked in themselves by taking part in it. Of course, they had no such opinion. I presume Mr. Phillips would have no scruple about sitting in Parliament, were he an Englishman, for Parliament *is* the Constitution. A more parallel case would be that of the Catholics before Emancipation. Might the Duke of Norfolk and Daniel O'Connell, as men of honor and honesty, take the oaths of Supremacy and Abjuration, for the sake of getting into Parliament, because they could do so much good there? They thought *not*. Mr. Mann, I suppose, must think they were wrong in refusing. Every man must be the judge of how much wrong he will do, on Mr. Mann's theory of political morals, (knowing all the time that it is wrong, for that is our assumption,) in order to do such and such good things. I do not see why Mr. Mann's argument is not quite broad enough to cover Mr. Webster and Commissioner Curtis. Why had they not a right to decide how much wrong they would do in order to save the Union? Mr. Mann has wasted a good deal of indignation, on one side or the other.

Mr. Mann seems incapable of perceiving any difference between submitting to laws and making and executing them, though he could understand it, if I am not mistaken, when he needed the distinction for his own use, as to the Fugitive slave law, in Congress. We think that taking part in a government, like ours, making laws under a written Constitution, *is* executing them, or agreeing to execute them when called on. Living under the government and submitting to laws, because we can't help ourselves, we consider innocent. But Mr. Mann takes it for granted that living under a government is the same thing as voting and taking office under it, and his argument rests, mainly, on this assumption. It is a fine specimen of arguing in a circle. And it is as perfect a justification of the Whigs and Democrats in their course as of the Free Soilers, if *they think* they can do more good by a pro-slavery than an anti-slavery course. They are the judges, and not Mr. Mann. We may condemn them, for we assume the inherent wickedness of slavery; accept the usual construction of the Constitution, that certain clauses relate to slavery; and then refuse to swear to support it, by ourselves or our attorneys, simply because we do n't mean to support it, and do mean to break it, in these particulars, as often as we have a chance. This may not be great Statesmanship; but, I must say, it looks to me like common sense and common honesty. The consequences are none of our business. The slaves have no right to ask me to tell a falsehood, or do a wrong act, to set them free to-morrow. And I hold returning fugitive slaves, or swearing to return them, or not to resist their return, to be very wicked things. And swearing to do these things, not intending to do them, after I have had the consideration, if not *as* wicked, is wicked enough, and much meaner. Our whole political morality lies in a nutshell. We do not mean to make promises which we do not mean to perform. I do not see anything in Mr. Mann's whole letter of June 3d that touches this scruple; and, yet, it is the only point in dispute between us.

But I have taken up more than my share of room without reaching Mr. Mann's last letter. Perhaps I may something about it, next time—especially if the weather be as hot as it is to-day; for it is mighty easy writing.—D. Y.

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION ANTI-SLAVERY.

A highly important and instructive (!) letter, from the pen of Hon. Horace Mann, is published on our first page, in which that gentleman gives his opinion in respect to voting under the Constitution, supposing it, in some sense, to support slavery. Like every thing else from Mr. Mann, this letter is brilliant, eloquent and able. Its reasoning is powerful, and we see not how it can be answered. (!!) We shall, next week, lay before our readers another document from the same pen, which carries us gloriously (!!) to an ANTI-SLAVERY CONSTITUTION, by three distinct *routes*. (!!!)

The first route is by the well-established and well-understood rules of legal interpretation, as old as the science of law itself; this route conducts us unfailingly to an Anti-Slavery Constitution. The next is by a route a little less direct than the first, yet equally certain; it is contemporaneous history: this brings us, like the other, to an Anti-Slavery Constitution. The third is the plain, literal reading of the Constitution, which defies ingenuity itself to fasten slavery upon it. We shall publish this important letter next week.

We look upon the Mann and Phillips' controversy as the last serious one which we shall have on the question of the propriety and rightfulness of voting under the Constitution. (!!!) Efforts to persuade abolitionists that it is a sin to vote for the abolition of slavery, and that their true work is to dissolve the political Union between the confederated States, will, we trust, give place to efforts, more wisely directed, urging to the exercise, by the people, of all the moral, religious and political power of the nation for the abolition of slavery. If this shall result from this controversy, it will not have been held in vain, and Mr. Mann will have performed a most excellent work.

The question whether an honest man can vote and hold office under the American Constitution, has been pressed by Mr. Garrison and his friends during the last ten years. They have held the Constitution to be 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,' and have, therefore, refused to vote under it. The unsoundness of their conclusions, and the fallacies by which they have reached them, have been repeatedly exposed by such men as Lysander Spooner, Wm. Goodell, Alvan Stewart, and Gerrit Smith. Still, they have held on to their conclusions, and fancied themselves to occupy what, in their humility, they are pleased to term 'HIGHER GROUND' than is occupied by any other abolitionists beside. It is true that slaveholders could ask no higher service from them than that which they are promptly rendering; for what more do the slaveholders want than to have the character of the Constitution, the character of the great men who framed and adopted it, and the facts of history so perverted as to stand between them and the terrible crime and scandal of slaveholding? They do not desire to be found more upright and just than the fundamental law of the land, or more virtuous than their revolutionary fathers. The fact is, non-voting abolitionists have been conscientiously weaving garments to shield the consciences of slaveholders during the last ten years, claiming, all the while, that they occupy higher ground than all other opponents of slavery. May we not now hope to hear no more of it, in view of Horace Mann's extinguisher! (!!) —*Frederick Douglass's Paper.*

HORACE MANN ON THE CONSTITUTION. In the last *Liberator*, this noble champion of freedom critically examines the several clauses in the Constitution of the United States, which have been relied upon by the disunion abolitionists as proof of the pro-slavery character of the document. It does seem to us that all who candidly read Mr. Mann's masterly exposition must admit the conclusiveness of his reasoning. He shows, that when these clauses are interpreted according to their strict and legal signification, they afford no support to slavery. And furthermore, that the Convention which framed, as well as those who adopted the Constitution, understood those equivocal provisions in the instrument, as referring to a temporary institution whose early dissolution all, who took part in the business at that time, anticipated. If we can, we will publish the whole article.—*R. I. Freeman*—(*Free Soil paper.*)

HORACE MANN has concluded his defence of his position as a voter and office-holder under the Constitution, in two letters, each filling nearly a page in the *Liberator*. We see nothing in his argument which we have not many times encountered in other forms and from other pens. We regret that he had not offered it, in its proper time, when Mr. Phillips so frequently and ineffectually invited him to give it; though the personal rudeness and abusiveness which justified Mr. P's withdrawal from the controversy may have saved this fine word-castle from an examination, under which it would dissolve like frost-work under sun-light. The *Liberator* has shown a liberality in giving Mr. Mann, under the circumstances, so large a space in its columns, which we shall gladly see reciprocated by the Free Soil papers.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

RUNAWAY KILLED. On Saturday last, a runaway negro was killed in the parish of East Baton Rouge, La., under the following circumstances:

Two citizens of Port Hudson, learning that a negro was at work on a flat-boat loading with sand just below that place, who was suspected of being a runaway, went down in a skiff for the purpose of arresting him. Having seized him and put him in the skiff, they started back, but had not proceeded far when the negro, who was at the oars, seized a hatchet and assaulted one of them, wounding him very seriously. A scuffle ensued, during which both parties fell overboard. They were both rescued by the citizens pulling to them with a skiff. Finding him so unmanageable, the negro was put ashore, and the parties returned to Port Hudson for arms and a pack of negro dogs, and started again with the intention to capture him.

They soon got on his trail, and when found again, he was standing at bay upon the outer edge of a large raft of drift-wood, armed with a club and pistol. In this position, he bade defiance to men and dogs, knocking the latter into the water with his club, and threatening death to any man who approached him. Finding him obstinately determined not to surrender, one of his pursuers shot him. He fell at the third fire, and so determined was he not to be captured, that, when an effort was made to rescue him from drowning, he made battle with his club, and sunk waving his weapon in angry defiance at his pursuers. He refused to give the name of his owner.—*Feliciana Whig.*

☞ This case of desperate heroism on the one hand, and of diabolical cruelty on the other, is circulating through the American journals without note or comment—as an item of intelligence merely, instead of its being a transaction that should cause the earth to shudder, and fill with horror every humane breast. Yet it was a lawful deed in a professedly Christian land!

From the Boston Courier.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

STATE HOUSE, Wednesday, June 22, 1853.

The Convention went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. SCHOULER of Boston in the Chair, for the consideration of the report of the Committee on the Militia, on the petition of John P. Coburn and others, 'that the laws may be so modified that no able-bodied male citizen may be forbidden or prevented from serving, or holding office or commission in the militia on account of his color.' Upon the petition, the Committee reported—

'That, in the opinion of the Committee, this Convention cannot incorporate into the Constitution of Massachusetts, any provision which shall conflict with the laws of the United States, and cannot therefore act in accordance with the request of the petitioners. But, inasmuch as the present organization of the militia of the Commonwealth is founded upon a system of voluntary, and not of compulsory, service, a service not contemplated by the laws of the United States, and as this system authorizes "the commander-in-chief, who may be authorized, the mayor and aldermen of any city, or the selectmen of any town in the Commonwealth, to grant petitions for raising companies at large, provided the whole number of these companies shall not exceed one hundred and twenty," [1840, sec. 12, and 1843, chap. 84, sec. 4,] and as no reference is, in this provision of the law, made to color, the committee believe the whole subject to be within the control and authority of the officers just named. They therefore advise that it is inexpedient to act thereon.'

Mr. WHITNEY of Boylston moved to strike out the report, and insert instead a resolution, that in the future enrolment of the militia of this Commonwealth, no distinction shall be made on account of color. This amendment, after a brief debate, was rejected, 74 to 99, and the report was accepted. The Committee then rose and reported progress.

In Convention, Mr. WILSON of Natick moved to strike out the last sentence of the report, and insert instead the words—

Resolved, That no distinction shall ever be made in the organization of the volunteer militia of the Commonwealth, on account of color or race.

Mr. WILSON supported his amendment in a brief speech, arguing that nothing should be inserted in the Constitution that would have a tendency to abridge the rights and privileges of any citizen. He wanted the fundamental law so comprehensive that all men, without distinction of race or color, might live under it.

Mr. KEYES of Abington followed in support of the amendment.

Mr. BOUTWELL of Berlin, and Mr. ABBOTT of Lowell, opposed the amendment as being in direct conflict with the Constitution.

Mr. OLIVER of Lawrence, Chairman of the Militia Committee, defended the report.

Mr. CHOATE of Boston said, that although he had no very strong feeling upon the subject under discussion, he felt it his duty to say a word or two in addition to what had already been said on the interesting matter of national law, and the supposed conflict which was thought to arise, as developed by the proposition of the gentleman from Natick, [Mr. Wilson.] If the amendment meant merely to authorize the Governor to organize a company of men in such a way as to place them beyond the effect of our criminal law, in consequence of such organization,—if it meant the withdrawing these persons from the operation of that part of our criminal code which would subject them to prosecution for riot,—if it meant to organize a mere and strictly insulated local police, forming no part of the militia of the nation, not coming within their name, not entitled to serve in their ranks, not subjected to the code of law by which they are governed—but a mere insulated and discriminated local police—then there was no conflict at all, that he (Mr. Choate) could see. But if it was proposed to make an organization which shall form any part of the national army, who shall stand upon the parade under the stars and stripes on an equality with the citizen soldiery of the land—he meant, he said, an equality under the law—forming a part of that institution, bearing its name, and subject to its regulation and control and discipline,—the amendment proposed was a manifest violation, he thought, of the Constitution of the United States. He differed with the gentleman from Marshfield (Mr. Sumner) and others, in the opinions which they had expressed upon the comparative and relative jurisdiction between the State of Massachusetts and the United States, in regard to this matter of the militia. The grant of power to the general government was not exclusive; that was perfectly well established; and although Congress may or may not have taken the matter in hand, yet, just so far as it left the ground uncovered, the States may intervene and make a militia law of their own. Unless, therefore, you can raise a direct conflict in regard to this particular subject matter of our legislation and the legislation of Congress, there is no conflict at all. But with regard to the motion submitted by the gentleman from Marshfield, last evening, he was prepared to show that it was unwarranted by the Constitution of the United States.

It was perfectly competent for this Commonwealth, in its constitutional capacity, in its relation to the Union, to make an organic law that shall re-enact every provision in the Constitution of the United States, and every provision in every law of the United States, upon the subject of the militia—from the beginning to the end—yes, we may re-enact it, we may legislate or ordain an auxiliary reference to it—we may do anything and everything till we come to the point of direct conflict, and no further. There is not a word in the case of Prigg *vs.* Pennsylvania,—which had been alluded to upon this point,—impugning this position. The Prigg case stood alone, and would stand alone till the end of our national time, an adjudication upon the Fugitive Slave Law, and nothing else. He could not adopt the doctrine, that the legislation of the general government was exclusive in its nature until its acts. When it acts and covers the matter, we cannot avoid it. We may go up to it, we may go round it, but we cannot go in conflict with a national law.

In regard to the inquiry, as to what would be the result of sending a colored commander-in-chief at the head of the Massachusetts militia in response to a national call for military, the Attorney General said he found no difficulty in the solution of that question. The federal laws had furnished an apt answer. The general government had legislated, and had covered the whole ground. It had legislated by definition—it had created a national militia—and had identified it and made it homogeneous; ascertained it particularly and practically in point of law, by prefixing the epithet '*white*.' It has national legislation completely and exclusively of the entire subject matter, and hence it comes to be merely a question as to what you will do; it comes to be true by necessary consequence—perceived instantly by the gentleman from Natick, and not doubted even by the impassioned and eloquent gentleman from Abington, (Mr. Keyes)—it comes to be the concession of every one, that that is the fundamental and paramount and supreme law.

If that be so, (said Mr. Choate,) whatsoever you desire it may be worth, you can raise no colored regiment or part of a regiment, that shall be of the militia of the United States—none whatever. It then becomes a question what such a company would be, and whether it was worth while to make any provision for its organization. He would tell the Convention what, in his judgment, the State Legislature could constitutionally do—though perhaps it might be said it was not necessary to interfere in the matter—and that was, that the Governor may authorize colored citizens to organize themselves with arms in their hands, to procure the flag of our country, and march with a band of music at their head, without violating the provisions of our criminal law in that respect. It may be ordained that such an organization, marching in our streets, shall not be taken and deemed to be a riot—that it is not such an organization as would produce terror in the minds of those peaceably disposed. But it is certain, that if they were to go upon parade and win Bunker Hills, yet they never can be a part of the militia of the United States. No court martial can ever touch a hair of their head—no military court of the United States can come near them—no military court can know them or recognize them in any way; and while the white volunteer, who stands side by side with the colored soldier, may look to one pension, and feel that he is subject to one administration of criminal law, none of these things can appertain to any person of color. That was the difficulty. Whether humanity and philanthropy would be promoted by adopting the proposition which had been offered, and what would be its effect upon the white volunteer, he did not pretend to predict. He was not a military man, either in taste or spirit; but however strange it might sound to hear him say so, he was a 'philanthropist and humane man'; but he did not see his way clear on the point of utility. Nay more, he did not see how he could do any thing for this colored race, by putting them in one of the high places of the Commonwealth, with weapons in their hands, and allow our glorious banner to throw around them all the pomp and parade and condition of war; the color cleaves to them there, and on parade is only the more conspicuous. Gentlemen might differ from him in the opinion he had expressed—on that point he had nothing to say. He rose merely for the purpose of attempting to clear the idea in regard to the relation of the Constitution and law of the United States to our laws, on this subject of the militia. He held that on that subject we do as much harm by giving to the general government too much power as too little. The true rule was the exact measure of right between both. He repeated, that by the exposition of the law, Congress gets no such exclusive power, but that we may arm and train our militia just as we please; but he held, that when we come to legislate and cover a given ground, we cannot go beyond the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. WILSON of Natick asked the Attorney General, if, in his opinion, the law of the United States would forbid the Governor of this Commonwealth, the commander-in-chief of the voluntary militia of this Commonwealth, to act as such, in calling them out to suppress a riot; and in connection with these same questions, he also asked whether a colored man may not be one of the volunteer militia.

Mr. CHOATE answered, that the President of the United States had no power, perhaps not in any case, to prohibit the Governor from doing this or that. It was not the mode in which the general government exerted its jurisdiction on States, or on Governors of States. But the difficulty was this: Suppose the President cannot prohibit, and the government does call on such a company, what are they when called out? The militia, or a part of the militia of the United States? Certainly not, as he viewed the law in reference to it.

Mr. SUMNER of Marshfield suggested, that if the gentleman from Natick would modify his amendment so as to insert instead of the word 'militia,' the words 'military companies,' the objections presented by the Attorney General would be avoided, and our militia would be consistent with federal law.

Mr. WILSON modified his resolution in the manner suggested.

Mr. HALLETT of Wilbraham expressed astonishment at the views put forth by the member from Marshfield. If volunteer 'military companies' did not mean 'militia,' what did they mean? If they were not the militia of the United States, we had been improperly receiving, year after year, the sums of money payable in arms to the several States for military service.

Mr. WILSON asked the member from Wilbraham what would be the consequence of sending a colored commander-in-chief, at the head of our State militia, to the service of the United States? It was competent for Massachusetts to elect a colored Governor, and he would like to know what the United States would do about it, if this State should send a colored chief officer to head her militia?

Mr. HALLETT thought that the Attorney General had already answered that question. If the gentleman from Natick was not satified with the reply of the learned Attorney General, he (Mr. Hallett) would say, that if Massachusetts should send a colored commander-in-chief at the head of her militia, the United States would not recognize his authority, and would at once supersede him. There was law for this assertion—constitutional law—clear and well-defined.

Mr. BARTLETT of Boston thought the question under consideration a practical as well as a legal question. If it was desirable to have a colored organization distinct from the militia, but yet clothed with power to carry arms, and in all respects assimilating to a military organization—that was a matter of State right. But what was meant by 'volunteer military companies'? Did the gentleman from Marshfield mean a new theory hitherto unknown in this Commonwealth? If he meant that, the proposition ought to be distinctly stated to the Convention. Our volunteer system was part of the militia of the United States, and it was not competent to do any act that was manifestly inconsistent with the national law.

Mr. ABBOTT of Lowell, after saying that he had consulted with several gentlemen on the subject, and that they agreed with him to let this part of our fundamental law remain untouched, moved to lay the report upon the table.

And this motion was sustained without a division.

IN CONVENTION, June 21.

The resolves and articles of amendment on the subject of the militia were taken up—question on final passage.

Mr. WHITNEY, of Boylston, opposed the resolve, ridiculing the volunteer militia, as men engaged in childish amusement. He expressed himself apprehensive of another war with Mexico, to be brought about by the evil influence of slavery; but he would meet any foreign invasion by a peaceful proclamation, appealing to the common sentiment of humanity. He believed the adoption of these resolves would injure the Free Democratic party, by alienating those in favor of peace doctrines.

Mr. KEYES, of Abington, considered the militia as of some service in large towns, but was of opinion that when brought into conflict with a foreign foe, they were sometimes prone to 'devour the paths of flight.' He would vote for these resolutions, because the times required them, and because the 'good time coming' had not yet come.

Mr. WILSON, of Natick, denied that this was any boon granted to the militia. It was only carrying out what was already provided in the Constitution and laws of the United States. He repudiated the idea of gaining or losing votes from any action on this subject, believing that the militia, as such, would only obey orders, without discussing constitutional questions. He was in favor of peace measures, but would never abolish the militia till every tyrant on the earth should be put down, and the people should have their rights.

Mr. FOSTER, of Charlemont, believed that it was only war that makes, and will continue to make tyrants, and that peace alone would put them down.

Mr. SUMNER, of Marshfield, contended that there were too many of these resolutions, some conflicting with the power of the General Government to organize and discipline the militia, and some entering into details which should be left to the Legislature. He moved to amend by substituting resolves providing, 1st. That the Governor shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the Commonwealth, and of the militia thereof, except when these forces are actually in the service of the United States, and shall have power to call out the militia to execute the laws, suppress insurrection, or repel invasion. 2d. The appointment of officers and the training of the militia shall be regulated in such manner as may hereafter be deemed expedient by the Legislature; and all persons who from scruples of conscience may be averse to bearing arms shall be excused therefrom, upon conditions prescribed by law.

From the Commonwealth.

REMARKS OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

ON THE COLORED MILITIA.

I have a suggestion to make to my friend opposite, [Mr. Wilson,] in regard to the form of his proposition, which, if he will accept it, will, as it seems to me, absolutely remove his proposition from the criticism of my most eloquent friend before me, [Mr. Choate,] and from the criticism of other gentlemen who have addressed the Convention. I suggest to him to strike out the word 'militia,' and substitute therefor the words 'military companies,' so that his proposition will read 'that in the organization of the volunteer military companies of the Commonwealth, there shall be no distinction of color or race.'

Mr. WILSON. I accept the suggestion, and will amend my proposition accordingly.

Mr. SUMNER. Now that proposition, as amended, I submit, is absolutely consistent with the Constitution of the United States, and, I believe, in conformity with the public sentiment of Massachusetts.

A brief inquiry will show that it is consistent with the Constitution of the United States, and in no respect interferes with the organization of the National Militia. That Constitution provides for organizing, arming and disciplining a militia, and gives Congress full power over the subject. To be more explicit, I will read the clause. It is found in the long list of enumerated powers of Congress, and is as follows:—'Congress shall have power to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and of governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.' And then at the close of the section it is further declared 'that Congress shall make *all laws which shall be necessary and proper* for carrying into execution the foregoing powers.'

In pursuance of this power, Congress have proceeded by various laws, 'to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be engaged in the service of the United States.' The earliest of these laws, which is still in force, is entitled, 'An act more effectually to provide for the national defence, by *establishing an uniform* militia throughout the United States.' [Act of May 8th, 1792, ch. 33.] This has been followed by several acts in addition thereto. Congress, then, have undertaken to exercise the power of 'organizing' the militia under the Constitution.

And here the question arises, to what extent, if any, this power, when already exercised by Congress, is exclusive in its character. Among the powers delegated to Congress, there may be some which are not for the time being, exercised. For instance, there is the power 'to fix the standard of weights and measures.' Practically this has never been exercised by Congress; but it has been left to each State within its own jurisdiction. On the other hand, there is a power belonging to the same group, 'to establish uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States,' which, when exercised by Congress, has been held so far exclusive, as to avoid at once all the bankrupt and insolvent laws of the several States.

Sir, I might go over all the powers of Congress, and find constant illustration of the subject. For instance, there is the power 'to establish an uniform rule of naturalization,' on which Chief Justice Marshall once remarked:—'That the power of naturalization is *exclusively* in Congress, does not seem to be, and certainly ought not to be controverted.' There is the power 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States,' which was early declared by the Supreme Court to be exclusive, so as to prevent the exercise of any part of it by the States. There is the power over patents and copyrights, which has also been regarded as exclusive. So, also, is the power 'to define and punish piracies and felonies, committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.' So, also, is still another power, viz.: 'to establish post-offices and post-roads.' All of these powers, as in the case of the power over the National Militia, have been exercised by Congress, and even if not absolutely exclusive in their original character, have become so by the exercise.

Now, sir, upon what ground do gentlemen make any discrimination in the case of the power over the national militia? I know of no ground which seems to be tenable. It is natural that the States should desire to exercise this power, since it was so important to them before the Union; but I do not see how any discrimination can be maintained at the present time. Whatever may have been the original importance of the militia to each State, yet when the Constitution of the United States was formed, and Congress exercised the power delegated to it over this subject, the militia of the several States was absorbed into one uniform body, organized, armed, and disciplined as the National Militia. To the States respectively was left, according to the express language of the Constitution, 'the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.' To this we may add the implied power of 'governing' them when in the service of the State. This is all. The distinct specification of certain powers, as reserved to the States, seems to exclude them from the exercise of all others, which are not specified or clearly implied. In other words, they are excluded from all power over the 'organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia,'—at least after Congress have undertaken to enact laws for this purpose.

The history of the adoption of the several parts of this clause in the Federal Convention reflects light upon its true meaning. The first part, in regard to organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, was passed by a vote of nine States against two; the next referring the appointment of officers to the States, after an ineffectual attempt to amend it by confining the appointment to officers under the rank of general officers, was passed without a division; and the last, reserving to the States the authority to train the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress, was passed by a vote of seven States against four. It seems, then, that there was a strong opposition in the Convention, even to the express reservation to the States of 'the authority of training the militia.' But this power is not reserved unqualifiedly. The States are to train the militia 'according to the *discipline prescribed* by Congress;' not according to any discipline determined by the States, or by the States concurrently with the General Government; but absolutely *according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;* nor more, nor less; thus distinctly recognizing the exclusive character of the legislation of Congress on this subject.

This interpretation derives confirmation from the manner in which the militia of England was constituted or organized at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. To the crown was given the '*sole right* to govern and command them,' though they were 'officered' by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, the deputy Lieutenant, and other principal landholders of the county. The commentaries of Sir William Blackstone, from which this description is drawn, were familiar to the members of the Convention; and it is reasonable to suppose that in the distribution of powers between the General Government and the States, on this subject, the peculiar arrangement which prevailed in the mother country was not disregarded.

If it should be said that the adoption of this conclusion would affect the character of many laws enacted by States, and thus far recognized as ancillary to the National Militia, it may be replied that the possibility of these consequences cannot justly influence our conclusions on a question which must be determined by acknowledged principles of constitutional law. In obedience to these same principles, the Supreme Court, in the case of *Prigg* vs. *Pennsylvania*, have pronounced an opinion, which has annulled a large number of statutes in different States. Mr. Justice Wayne in this case said: 'That the legislation by Congress upon the provision, as the supreme law of the land, *excludes all State legislation on the same subject;* and that no State can pass any law or regulation, or interpose such as may have been a law or regulation when the Constitution of the United States was ratified, *to superadd to*, control, qualify, or impede a remedy enacted by Congress for the delivery of fugitive slaves to the parties to whom their service or labor is due.' Without the sanction of any express words in the Constitution, and chiefly, if not solely, in view of the importance of consulting 'unity of purpose or uniformity of operation' in the legislation with regard to fugitive slaves, they have excluded the States from all sovereignty in the premises.

Now if this rule be applicable to the power over fugitive slaves, it is also applicable to the power over the militia. Indeed, I know of no power which so absolutely requires what has been regarded as an important criterion, 'unity of purpose or uniformity of operation,' as that over the militia. No true military organization can spring from opposite or inharmonious systems; and all systems proceeding from different sources are liable to be opposite or inharmonious.

Now, sir, let us apply this reasoning in the matter in hand, that we may arrive at a just conclusion. In Massachusetts, there now exists, and has for a long time existed, an anamolous system, familiarly and loosely described as the Volunteer Militia, not composed absolutely of those enrolled under the laws of the United States, but a smaller, more select and peculiar body. Now it cannot be doubted that the State, by virtue of its *police powers* within its own borders, would have power to constitute or organize a body of *volunteers*, to aid in enforcing its laws. But it does not follow that it will have power to constitute or organize a body of volunteers, who shall be regarded as a part of the National Militia. And, sir, I make bold to say that the volunteer militia—I prefer to call it the volunteer military companies—cannot be regarded as a part of the National Militia. It is no part of that *uniform militia* which it was the object of the early Act of Congress to organize. It may appear to be a part of this system—it may affect to be; but, I submit, it is a mistake to suppose that it is so in any just constitutional sense.

As a local system, disconnected from the national militia, and not in any way constrained by its organization, it is within our jurisdiction. We are free to declare the principles which shall govern it. We may declare that, whatever may be the existing law of the United States with regard to its enrolled militia—and with this I propose no interference, because it would be futile—I say, Massachusetts may proudly declare that, in her own volunteer military companies, marshalled under her own local laws, there shall be no distinction of color or race.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JULY 1, 1853.

FOURTH OF JULY!

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION.

The MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold a Mass Meeting, in honor and for the promotion of the true principles of Liberty and Independence, at ABINGTON, in the well-known Grove near the Centre of the town, on MONDAY, JULY 4th.

Eloquent Speaking, the Songs of Freedom, Social Intercourse, with pic-nic entertainments, together with the natural attractions of the place and its scenery, all combine to invite a large gathering of the friends o freedom on the approaching, as on former anniversaries.

It is expected that WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, CHARLES L. REMOND, Rev. CALEB STETSON, Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS, WILLIAM J. WATKINS, and several other speakers will attend.

☞ The *Old Colony Railroad* declining this year to afford the accustomed accommodation of reduced fare and special trains, all who go by that road must take, of course, the regular trains. Those leave Boston, at 8, A. M.; and Plymouth, at 6½ and 10, A. M. Returning, leave the Grove for *Boston*, at 5½, P. M.; for *Plymouth*, about 6, P. M. Fare, Boston to Abington, and back, $1 16; Plymouth to Abington, and back, $1 10; children under fifteen, half-price.

☞ Cold water in abundance will be furnished in the Grove; and there will be an ample supply of provisions for sale.

If the weather is unfavorable, the meeting will be held in the Town Hall, in the immediate vicinity.

FRANCIS JACKSON,
BOURNE SPOONER,
SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
LEWIS FORD,
THOMAS J. HUNT,
BRIGGS ARNOLD,
SAMUEL DYER,
ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,
} *Committee of Arrange'ts.*

CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH.

Is it necessary to ask any friend of the anti-slavery cause, who can do so without much sacrifice or great inconvenience, to attend the Anti-Slavery Celebration of JULY 4th, on Monday next, in the beautiful Grove at Abington? We know of no other similar consecration of the day to the cause of the fettered millions in our land, in any part of the Commonwealth. This indicates how little they are thought of—on an occasion, too, when their claims to popular sympathy and aid should be regarded as paramount to all other considerations. While their groans are ascending to Heaven, and their chains are clanking in the ear of an astonished world, it is a horrible mockery, and the climax of effrontery, to join in what are called 'patriotic' observances of the day, and to boast of our national freedom and independence. Away with all such shams! Not while every sixth person in the land is a chattel slave can we, as a people, pretend to worship at the shrine of Liberty. Sackcloth and ashes, and humble confession of sin, and earnest supplication for the mercy of God, are much more appropriate to our state. Though the FOURTH may be usefully observed in promoting many good enterprises, we think it ought to be specially and very generally, if not exclusively, devoted to the overthrow of the slave system, that liberty may be the birthright of every one who treads on American soil.

'Friends of your country, of your race,
Of Freedom, and of God,
Combine Oppression to efface,
And break th' oppressor's rod;
All traces of injustice sweep,
By moral power, away—
Then a glorious jubilee we 'll keep
On Independence day!'

COLORED MILITIA.

We have copied from the *Courier*, a sketch of a debate which took place in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, a few days since, on the report of a committee on the petition of John P. Coburn and others, praying that the State Constitution may be so amended as to remove the disabilities of colored citizens from holding military commissions and serving in the militia. We also publish the remarks of Hon. CHARLES SUMNER on the same subject, as officially reported for the *Commonwealth*. Of course—believing that all war, and all preparations for war, are contrary to humanity—we feel no other interest in this subject than that which concerns the equal rights of all classes in the State. After various attempts either to compromise or to dodge the question, it was laid on the table without a division, from which it will not probably be taken. So our colored citizens are still to remain proscribed, and they seek redress in vain at the hands of this Reform (?) Convention. It will be seen that while Messrs. Sumner and Wilson, of the Free Soil party, attempted (in vain) to get an acknowledgment of the right of our colored citizens to be formed into volunteer military companies, neither of those gentlemen raised any objection whatever to their being ostracised by the laws of Congress pertaining to the militia of the United States, but submissively acquiesced without a murmur! Under the Constitution of the United States, it was virtually admitted by them that the citizens of Massachusetts are not permitted to exercise equal rights nor to enjoy equal privileges—that a portion of them, in consequence of their complexion, are incapable of being recognised as a part of the militia of the United States—and that Massachusetts has no other alternative than to submit to this insult, in loyal servility of spirit! And this is as far as the Free Soil champions dare to go!

MR. MANN'S LETTERS. Mr. Mann's letters to Mr. Garrison, which we have now given to our readers, seem to us unanswerable. His statements and arguments are so clear and convincing, that they must command the assent of every man who reads them candidly. We especially commend to the attention of our readers the last letter of Mr. Mann, which we publish to-day. In this letter, he carefully and thoroughly discusses those clauses of the Constitution which our Garrisonian friends usually specify when they denounce the constitutional oath. We do not see how Mr. Garrison can dispose of this letter, or evade its force, unless the long habit of hostility to the Constitution disqualifies to consider it fairly.

Mr. Mann holds that the clause in the Constitution relative to the delivering up fugitives from service does not present a matter for legislation, and that constitutionally it can only raise a question for the courts, where it cannot be interpreted to mean slaves, without a departure from all just rules of interpretation. But we will not undertake to give an analysis of this letter. Every one will read it for himself, and, we think, no anti-slavery man who reads it faithfully will be much inclined to adopt Mr. Garrison's view of the Constitution, and become a non-voter.—*Commonwealth of Tuesday.*

☞ The *Commonwealth* does not see how we can 'dispose of Mr. Mann's letter, or evade its force.' Suppose we allow Mr. Mann to refute himself, and so save us all trouble on that score. Please, therefore, to 'read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest' the following extracts from a volume, entitled 'SLAVERY—LETTERS AND SPEECHES, BY HORACE MANN, the First Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education,' published by B. B. Mussey & Co., Boston, 1851:—

'The debates in all the conventions for adopting the Constitution of the United States, proceed upon the ground that slavery depends upon positive law for its existence. If it did not,—if a man who has a legal right to a slave in Virginia, has a legal right to him any where,—then *the provision in the Constitution*, and the act of 1793, for recapturing FUGITIVE SLAVES, would have been unnecessary.'—p. 157.

'In regard to this whole matter of slavery, the Constitution touches the subject with an averted face. The abhorred word '*slave*' is no where mentioned in it. The Constitution is ashamed to utter such a name. The country, coming fresh from that baptism of fire,—the American Revolution,—would not profane its lips with this unhallowed word. Hence, *circumlocution is resorted to. It seeks to escape a guilty confession. Like a culprit, in whom some love of character still survives*, IT SPEAKS OF ITS OFFENCE WITHOUT CALLING IT BY NAME. It uses the reputable and honorable word "persons," instead of the accursed word "slaves." As the Tyrian Queen, about to perpetrate a deed which would consign her character to infamy, *called it by the sacred name of "marriage," and committed it,*—

"*Hoc prætexit nomine culpam;*"

so the Constitution, ABOUT TO RECOGNIZE THE MOST GUILTY AND CRUEL OF ALL RELATIONS BETWEEN MAN AND MAN, sought to avert its eyes from the act, and to pacify the remonstrances of conscience against every participation in the crime, *by hiding the deed under a reputable word.*'—pp. 168–9.

'It will be seen from all this, that the word '*person*' is used in the Constitution in the most comprehensive sense. It embraces Indians, if taxed; *it embraces natives of Africa;* it embraces apprentices AND SLAVES, or those held to service or labor; and it embraces every citizen, from the humblest to the highest, from the most true to the most treasonable. It embraces all, from THE SLAVE to the President of the United States.'—p. 172.

'The Constitution proceeds upon this doctrine when IT PROVIDES FOR THE RECAPTURE OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.' * * * 'An escaped slave could not be recovered *before the adoption of the Constitution.* THE POWER TO SEIZE UPON ESCAPING SLAVES WAS ONE OF THE MOTIVES FOR ADOPTING IT.'—pp. 195–6.

'*The Constitution of the United States, and the law of* 1793, *being at an end*, THE LAW OF NATURE REVIVES.' * * * '*The States being separated*, I would as soon return my own brother or sister into bondage, as I would return a fugitive slave.' * * * 'The day for the power and the triumph of those whom you hate as abolitionists will [then] have arrived. To guard twenty-five hundred miles of coast is impossible. If you declare war in order to avenge your losses, then that war makes your coast lawfully accessible both by day and by night, and multiplies a hundred fold the opportunities and facilities for this self-recovery of stolen goods.'—pp. 207–8.

'In regard to instigating slaves to escape, I acknowledge there have been some instances of it; *but they have been few.* The perpetrators have been tried, and *severely punished*, and THE NORTH HAS ACQUIESCED. * * * But will separation bring relief or security? No, sir; it will enhance the danger [of insurrection] a myriad fold. Thousands will start up, who will think it as much a duty and an honor to assist the slaves in any contest with their masters, as to assist Greeks, or Poles, or Hungarians, in resisting their tyrants. Two things exist at the North, which the South does not duly appreciate,—the depth and intensity of our abhorrence for slavery, and that *reverence for the law which keeps it* IN CHECK. (!) *The latter counterpoises the former.* (!) We are a law-abiding people. But, *release us from our* OBLIGATIONS—tear off from THE BOND, with your own hands, THE SIGNATURES WHICH BIND OUR CONSCIENCES AND REPRESS OUR FEELINGS—destroy those compensations which the world and which posterity would derive from a continuance of this Union, and well may you tremble for the result.'—pp. 212–13.

'Even when *our own Constitution* was formed, in 1787, *this dreadful traffic was not only sanctioned*, but A SOLEMN COMPACT WAS ENTERED INTO, BY WHICH ALL PROHIBITION OF IT WAS PROHIBITED FOR TWENTY YEARS.'—p. 220.

'Even should the Supreme Court of the United States declare the [Fugitive Slave] law to be constitutional, then, though *we must acknowledge their decision*, as to the point decided, to be THE LAW OF THE LAND, *until it is set aside*, yet, without any disrespect to that tribunal, we may still adhere to our former opinion.'—p. 402.

'The relation of the government of the United States to slavery consists in this, and in this alone: that when this government was created, slavery existed in a portion of the States; and, *by certain provisions in the Constitution*, the existence of this slavery was recognized, and *certain* RIGHTS *and* DUTIES *in relation to it were respectively* ACKNOWLEDGED *and* ASSUMED.' * * 'The officers of the State governments being sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, *the governments of the free States are implicated* INDIRECTLY *in the matter of slavery, as the government of the United States is* DIRECTLY, and not otherwise.'—p. 416.

'In those provisions of the Constitution *which were* DESIGNED for the temporary PROTECTION OF SLAVERY, a common regard for decency forbade the mention of its name.'—p. 474.

'We in Massachusetts are a Union-loving and law-abiding people. Mr. Webster and his 'retainers' may spare their breath in exhorting us to abide by the Union. Such a work, in this Commonwealth, is a work of supererogation. He knows, and they know, that the number of disunionists in this State can be counted on a man's fingers and toes. Whatever influence they exert must flow from their zeal, their talents, and their private character; for they derive none from numerical force. Were they all to settle in one of our small towns, they would be out-voted by its inhabitants.'—pp. 475–476.

'We are not only Union-loving men, but, as I said before, we are law-abiding men. Had this not been so, not all the fleets and armies in the world could have carried Thomas Sims into bondage.' * * * 'This side of a just cause for revolution, they will yield submission to all laws enacted by the government, with ope single exception. The exception I mean, embraces those laws of men which are clearly contrary to the law of God.'—p. 477.

'To leave metaphor for literal speech: The Constitution of the United States gave the most comprehensive and fundamental guaranties in favor of freedom, *with here and there only an exception in behalf of slavery.*'—p. 540.

Now what does the *Commonwealth* say to all this? Has the Constitution been amended since 1851? At that time, according to Mr. Mann—and his admissions are as true now as they were then—the Constitution 'provided for the recapture of fugitive slaves'; it 'recognized the most guilty and cruel of all relations between man and man'; it 'here and there had an exception in favor of slavery'; in certain of its provisions, 'it acknowledged and assumed certain rights (!) and duties (!) in relation to slavery'; 'the power to seize upon escaping slaves was one of the motives for adopting it'; its slaveholding obligations served to 'bind our consciences and repress our feelings' on the subject of slavery; it enabled the South to keep their slaves securely in their chains, and make the danger of insurrection comparatively insignificant,—&c. &c. Either the Constitution is now wholly unlike what it was two years ago, or Mr. Mann has suddenly turned an extraordinary somerset. And thus it is we 'dispose of his letter.'

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

SIR,—I noticed in THE LIBERATOR of May 20th, a communication headed 'U. S. Constitution,' and signed J. P. B., in which the writer, after having noticed the controversy between Mr. Mann and Mr. Phillips, refers to a communication in THE LIBERATOR of April 22d, taken from the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, and signed 'D. Y.,' and says, 'I trust you will not deem it intrusive in me to reply to the two questions in that communication, which seem to be addressed to the public at large.' Now, Mr. Editor, I trust 'J. P. B.' will not deem it intrusive in me if I say a few words in regard to his reply, which appears to be addressed to the same authority.

He says, 'The first of these questions is, "Whether the Constitution of the United States, in regard to slavery, imposes any obligations that did not exist before it? Whether, for example, under the third clause of the fourth article, a slave is a person held to service or labor under the laws of a slave State; and whether he shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due?" To this I answer, Yes. I have no doubt that slaves were included, and were chiefly intended, to be described by such persons as are held to service or labor.' What, Mr. Editor, is this but a direct and unequivocal admission that the Constitution of the United States is a pro-slavery instrument? 'Supposing,' says J. P. B., 'the affirmative of the above, the next question is, then are not the persons taking part in the government, either as constituents or representatives, bound to make the necessary provisions for the execution of this clause. To this, I unhesitatingly say, No. They not only are not bound, but are not authorized to make any such provision.' And why? He gives his reason: the Constitution itself makes the necessary provisions for returning fugitives. Very plausible reason why persons taking part in the government are not bound to make the necessary provisions for carrying out this clause. Hear him:—'The clause in the Constitution alluded to provides, first, that no regulation shall be made by the States to prevent the recovery of the fugitives; and, second, that they shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.' Here, Sir, J. P. B. gives a clear view of the pro-slavery character of the Constitution. No State in the Union can have the privilege of making laws and regulations to secure the 'blessings of liberty' to the *black* man and his 'posterity,' who may come to reside in it. And why? The Constitution of the United States expressly prohibits it, and makes special provision for carrying him back again to slavery.

J. P. B. continues:—'It does not (in this place) say by whom the delivery is to be made.' Indeed! What if it does not? In my opinion, it matters not by whom the delivery is made. It is sufficient for me to know that the Constitution makes special provision for taking a man in one State and carrying him into another, and making a chattel slave of him, and that no power in the United States can prevent it. This is a direct and palpable violation of the fundamental principle of the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are endowed by their Creator with the right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And yet, I suppose, by his subsequent remarks, that J. P. B. would have no scruples about swearing to support the Constitution. He proceeds—'It is perfectly clear, that Congress is not authorized to make any law on the subject,' and gives his reasons why, and then says, 'On this ground, many persons, and, indeed, most intelligent lawyers, consider that the State Governments are required, by the clause in question, to provide for the delivery of fugitives from service; but though the States have undoubtedly the right to make laws for such delivery, they are under no obligation to do so.' What have we here? A plain declaration that the States undoubtedly have the right to make laws for the enslaving of *Man!* From whence, I ask, did the States obtain this *right?* Will J. P. B. please inform us?

But how will J. P. B. defend himself from the charge of inconsistency? for, after saying, 'It is clear to me that the Convention which framed the United States Constitution were unwilling to impose on the free States any responsibility for the support of slavery,' he proceeds to give a description of the way in which that part of the Constitution is to be executed which provides for the return of fugitives. Mind, he does not say the Convention did *not* impose on the free States any responsibility for the support of slavery; but only, they were unwilling to impose any such responsibility; and then admits that that Convention did impose that responsibility, by giving a description of the *modus operandi* of getting back fugitives constitutionally; thereby, admitting again, in the most direct and positive terms, that the Constitution is a pro-slavery instrument, or that it does actually provide for the support and continuance of slavery. If a slave gets to Canada, he is free; but at any point short of there, he may be hurled back into slavery. Why? Because he is within the clutches of this clause of the Constitution. Were it not for this, he would be free in the free States. But there is no safety, no protection, no freedom for him, on any portion of God's earth covered by the U. S. Constitution! Why? Because he is a person that was held to service or labor in one State, and has escaped into another; and the Constitution disputes his right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness at every step from the moment he leaves the State where he was so held, until he reaches the dividing line between Slavery and Liberty; or, to use a more popular phrase, between the United States and Canada!

Hear his description of the constitutional return of a fugitive:—'If neither Congress nor the States are required to provide for the delivery of these fugitives, and the free States are unwilling to do it, how shall all the provisions of the Constitution be executed? In answer to this question,' says he, 'I turn back to the description of the judicial power, (Art. 3, sec. 2,) and I see that it extends to controversies between two or more States, and between citizens of different States. This makes the matter plain at once. The slaveholder, finding his escaped slave in any free State, has only to cause him to be brought before any judge of a United States District Court, who can decide on the question of service or labor being due, and order his remission to the claimant, on the Constitution, without any law whatever.' Here, I suppose, we have J. P. B's views in full on this point. That is, no Fugitive Slave Law is necessary; the Constitution itself makes every provision for the return of fugitives (by somebody)—for he finds the whole process of returning a fugitive again to bondage made plain at once in that instrument. Having taken the escaped fugitive in a free State, and returned him again fairly and properly to slavery, on 'the Constitution,' he breaks forth in the following august and triumphant language:—'If these conclusions be sound, what becomes of the objections of D. Y. and others to any person's taking the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, either as President or member of Congress, or as Governor or legislator of a State, on the ground of this clause in the Constitution? It is obvious, that in either case he will be under no obligation to provide for the recovery of fugitive slaves, as it is a subject with which the Constitution gives him no concern. On the contrary, by becoming a member of Congress, he arms himself in the only way he can do—with the power of urging the repeal of the infamous Fugitive Slave Law, on the ground of its unconstitutionality.' Now, I do not profess to be one of those intelligent lawyers of whom J. P. B. speaks, nor do I pretend to be skilled in constitutional questions. On the contrary, I belong to the laboring class, and feel a deep interest in whatever vitally affects the liberty or slavery, the happiness or misery, of my fellow-man. But as I believe that the Constitution of the United States is a pro-slavery instrument, and one that no true friend of the rights of man can swear to support and carry out, without being guilty of the blood of the slave, I wish to ask J. P. B. the following questions:—

1. When a man has shown plainly that the Constitution does actually provide for the return of fugitives, and that he does so understand it—that it, therefore, must, and does, necessarily tolerate, uphold and support slavery—what does he do with his conscience, when he swears to support that instrument, if he is not in favor of slavery?

2. When a man takes an oath under the Constitution of the United States, according to the prescribed form, does he swear to support the whole of that instrument, or only a part of it?

3. If he swears to support the whole of it, how does he get rid of supporting slavery?

4. If he swears to support but a part of it, what becomes of his fidelity to the national compact?

5. How is it obvious, that in swearing to support the Constitution, a man will be under no obligation to provide for the carrying out of the different clauses of the Constitution, on the ground that they are subjects with which that instrument gives him no concern?

6. If, by becoming a member of Congress, a man arms himself, in the only way he can do, with the power of urging the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, on the ground of its unconstitutionality, does it follow, as a matter of course, that by swearing to support the Constitution, which provides for slavery, he places himself in the best possible position to attack and overthrow the system of slavery?

After J. P. B. has answered these questions satisfactorily to his conscience, I wish him to give those answers to the 'public at large'; and perhaps they will be able to answer the question propounded by him, viz.: 'What becomes of the objections of D. Y. and others to any person's taking the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, on the ground of this clause in that instrument?'

W. S. F.

CHARACTER OF THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

FRIEND GARRISON:

In the last number of THE LIBERATOR, (June 24,) I read a critical notice of 'The Unconstitutionality of Slavery,' by LYSANDER SPOONER, which is a favorable one on the whole, but from which two extracts are taken, and commented on in a manner not satisfactory to me. As I presume many others view the subject in the same light Mr. Spooner and I do, as you profess to seek only the truth, and to open your columns freely to opponents as well as approvers, and as the points in question between you and him are evidently deemed important by you—as they are by me—I trust you will cheerfully receive some strictures, made in a friendly spirit, on your remarks.

In the first extract you have quoted, I understand Mr. S. to take the ground that the constitutionality of slavery is not a 'historical,' but a 'legal' question; and hence to infer that the people of the United States have nothing to do with the debates on the formation of the Constitution regarding this subject, or former decisions upon it, but are only legally bound by fair constructions of the words of the instrument itself. This appears to me sound doctrine, and I look to see how you meet it.

You reply by saying that 'the Constitution is a compact, and the constitutionality of slavery *is*, therefore, a historical question, instead of a legal one.' The premise assumed here appears to be erroneous. The Constitution is *not* a compact, so far as the people are concerned. The *formation* of the Constitution was 'a compact' between the several States represented by their delegates, but when they had agreed on all the conditions, they put them into the shape of an organic law, to be presented to the people, the compact was fulfilled and at an end, and the Constitution produced by it was a mere recommendation, having no force whatever until adopted by the people. The people adopted this Constitution, not as a compact, but as a fundamental law, by their own sole authority, and for the government of themselves, and no others. A compact requires two parties, and here was only one. The language of the Preamble is—'We, the people of the United States, in order to form,' &c., 'do ordain and establish this Constitution,' &c. The people do not give the least intimation, either in this introduction or throughout the instrument, that they contract with any other party, whose concurrence is necessary. It may be said, that it is a compact by which the whole people contracts with each individual; but this is a plain absurdity: no other 'whole people' can be imagined, but what consists of the aggregate of each individual.

But the provisions of the Constitution sometimes require interpretation; and you will say that the true intent and meaning of its language—if not of its history—is expressed by 'the whole people of the United States,' 'through all their authorised mediums, judicial and political,' &c., and having been so expressed in this case, 'the question is authoritatively settled beyond a reasonable doubt.' Now, I assert that there is no such thing as a united opinion on this question with the 'whole people of the United States,' and that if there were, there is no 'medium' whatever which is authorised to express that opinion judicially. The judges of the United States Courts are only authorised to express their own constructions of any law or the Constitution; and this expression is not binding, either morally or legally, upon any of the people, except the parties in trial. No general question whatever is settled by it.

Connected with this is another consideration, overlooked by you, as, indeed, by most persons. The Constitution of the United States does not authorise the judiciary to assume or exercise any legislative powers. On referring to Art. 3d, where the extent of their jurisdiction is stated, it will be seen that their 'judicial power' extends only to 'cases,' and not to principles; and as all power not expressly granted to any branch of the United States government is reserved from it, this judicial power does not extend beyond the cases which respectively come before it, to other future

PLENARY INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE.

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON,

Delivered in Hartford, Ct., at the Bible Convention.

[PHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY A. J. GRAHAM.]

Mr. Chairman:

This afternoon, I offered a series of resolutions, and intimated that perhaps, at some subsequent stage of our proceedings, I would endeavor to say a few words in their defence.

I do not now intend to follow the friend who has just sat down, (Mr. Storrs.) I have listened, in my time, to a great many arguments which I have deemed exceedingly fallacious and extraordinary; but I must say, in all frankness, that I have never heard arguments, to my own mind, more fallacious and extraordinary than those which our friend has served up to us this evening. (Applause and hissing.) However, on this occasion, I waive any examination of what he has said, because I wish to draw the attention of this great assemblage to what I conceive to be the real point at issue. Our friend (Mr. Storrs) has said, that the plenary inspiration of the Bible is not the question before us; nor does he seem to regard it as of any importance.

Rev. Mr. Storrs—I beg to correct the statement of the speaker. I do not think that the question is not as to the inspiration of the Scriptures, but I think that the credibility of the witnesses should be considered as establishing, or not, the fact of inspiration, and the facts connected with that inspiration.

Mr. Garrison—Our friend asked, who believes that every thing in the Bible was given by inspiration? Who believes that all the books of the Old and New Testament were dictated by God, and written under the direct superintendence of his spirit? I answer, all evangelical Christendom professes to believe in the plenary inspiration of the Bible. Have you not been taught to believe it—and that to doubt it, and especially to deny it, is nothing better than rank infidelity? Have not books and sermons been published, by theological professors and eminent divines, to prove that every portion of the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, bears the divine impress, and is to be implicitly received as the truth? Is not that volume styled 'the *sacred* Scriptures'—'the *holy* Bible'—without exception or discrimination, from beginning to end? And is it not dogmatically presented to us as the only rule of faith and practice? Now, regarding this as the real question at issue, I propose to meet it at this time, and therefore will read the resolutions which I offered this afternoon, with express reference to it:—

[Having read his resolutions, which were listened to with great attention, and greeted with cheers and occasional hisses, Mr. G. proceeded to remark:—]

Mr. Chairman—The object which has brought us together is, undeniably, a very important one. The question before us should be discussed in sincerity of spirit, with the utmost candor, and with that gravity which belongs to it. It is not that my hands are not full—it is not that my mind is not pre-occupied with other matters of great importance to the cause of Liberty and Humanity—that I am with you on this occasion; but it is mainly because your Convention, being called for a good and lawful object, is nevertheless an unpopular meeting. (Cries of 'hear, hear.') God forbid that I should be ascertaining for myself, where the popular side is to be found, that I may stand upon it, and therefore be safe as to my reputation! A popular truth does not need my aid, and I shall not proffer any in that direction. A hunted, proscribed, outlawed truth commends itself to my warmest support; and both by choice and by destiny, I feel that I am allied to it, now and for ever. (Cheers.)

Sir, I know well the cost of an appearance in a Convention of this kind. I anticipate all that will be said, maliciously and opprobriously, on both sides of the Atlantic, in regard to the resolutions which I have read in your hearing, and to my participancy in your proceedings. Already, I hear the outcry of 'Infidel! *infidel!* infidel!' on the part of those occupants of the pulpit, who, while they are strong in their 'coward's castle,' never dare to make their appearance on a free platform before the people. I know, moreover, it will be said that this is another evidence of the infidel character of the anti-slavery movement. I know that the American Anti-Slavery Society will, by the bigoted and pharisaical, by the designing and wicked, be held responsible for the sentiments I may utter on this occasion. Shall I, therefore, be dumb? Will it indeed injure the cause of the slave, so dear to my heart, for me to express my thoughts, conscientiously, about the Bible? I do not believe it. Have I any right to speak on any other subject than American slavery?—or am I morally bound to give it my undivided attention? Why, Sir, no freedom of speech or inquiry is conceded to me in this land. Am I not vehemently told, both at the North and at the South, that I have no right to meddle with the question of slavery? And my right to speak on any other subject, in opposition to public opinion, is equally denied to me—not, it is true, by the strong arm of government, but by the cowardly and tyrannical in spirit. Now, I stand here, not as an abolitionist, not to represent the anti-slavery cause, but simply as a man, uttering my own thoughts, on my own responsibility; and, therefore, whoever shall avail himself of my presence here, to make me odious as the advocate of the slave, or to subject any anti-slavery body to reproach on that account, will reveal himself in his true character—that of a bigot, a hypocrite, or a falsifier.

Sir, let me illustrate our position, as a Convention, in regard to the authenticity and infallibility of the Scriptures.

If a meeting were to be called at St. Petersburgh, in Russia, to inquire into the 'divine right' of Nicholas to rule autocratically over that empire, there would be an intense excitement in that city, and the daring individuals, assembling to take part in the proceedings, would be hurried off to prison, and perhaps capitally punished, for their 'treasonable' conduct. You and I know the reason why.

If a meeting were to be called at Rome, in Italy, to inquire into the infallibility of the Romish Church, it would excite popular indignation, and the individuals attending it would be in imminent danger of their lives from the power of the Pope on one hand, and the blind fury of the populace on the other. You and I know the reason why.

If, in Mohammedan countries, a meeting should be called to inquire into the sacredness of the Koran, a general excitement would follow, doubtless, and the daring man venturing to raise that issue would be hunted down as an 'infidel,' unfit to live. You and I know the reason why.

So, let a meeting be called in Charleston, South Carolina, to inquire into the rightfulness of the slave system, and Lynch-law would be instantly applied to the man or men who should venture to come together to make any such inquiry. Such a meeting would not be tolerated for a moment. You and I know the reason why.

Sir, the analogy is perfect, in my opinion. The holding of this Convention, in evangelical Connecticut, creates general uneasiness, alarm and indignation, and subjects its members to scorn and contumely, if not to bodily peril! In this case, too, you and I know the reason why. Yet, sir, ours is a free meeting—free for all; as an anti-slavery meeting in Charleston would be free; as a meeting at Rome, to inquire into the infallibility of the Romish Church, would be free; as a meeting at St. Petersburgh, to canvas the right of Nicholas to exercise absolute power, would be free—i.e., if such could be held.

We are told, on the right hand and on the left, that the fact of the plenary inspiration of the Bible is as clear as the noon-day sun. It is so well settled, that it is absurd to think of disturbing it. There is all the evidence that the human mind can desire to sustain the declaration, that God did give this book to us to be the sole rule of faith and practice. Well, if it be so, then they who question the divinity of the Bible are the men to dread an open encounter. In that very book, we are assured that 'the righteous are as bold as a lion, but the wicked flee when no man pursueth.' (Applause.)

Now, let a meeting be called by pro-slavery men in any anti-slavery town, (if you can find such an anomaly in the United States,) and let it be announced that the platform will be free to all, and that the humanity of the anti-slavery movement will be the subject of investigation. I do not think that there would be any angry excitement on the part of the abolitionists. I do not believe that they would keep away from the meeting. I am sure they would say, 'That is just what we want! Our cause will gain new adherents by this investigation. We will not fail to be present.' Nor do I think that the quiet of the most thoroughly temperance town in America would be greatly disturbed, should a body of rum-sellers and moderate drinkers call a meeting in it, to consider whether the doctrine of total-abstinence is sound, and invite all the teetotallers to come and participate in the discussion. I think the friends of temperance would say, 'It will be an excellent opportunity afforded us to do something more for our glorious cause. We shall be able to confront the very men who have hitherto stood aloof from us, and who need to be reformed. We will gladly accept the invitation.'

But, sir, the opponents of abolitionism call no such meeting, and make no such overtures. The fact is exactly the reverse of this. They are consciously in the wrong. Rumsellers and moderate drinkers never invite teetotallers to stand upon the same platform with themselves. They deprecate all agitation, and know full well they have every thing to lose by an open encounter.

Now for the application, in the present case. It is alleged that this Convention has been called by 'heretics' and 'infidels.' Be it so, for the argument's sake. The platform is, nevertheless, free for all, and each side is to be fairly and fully heard. It is, therefore, just the occasion that the professed believers in the holy origin and divine authority of the Bible should be glad to improve, to the discomfiture of those who would strip the book of at least no small portion of its sanctity. And so they would, instead of shrinking from the discussion, and exciting popular indignation, if they really had any intelligent and rational belief on the subject. The book may be all that they affirm in its behalf, but by their conduct they show that they have no solid faith in its divinity; for, if they had, they would rejoice to stand here, (as abolitionists and teetotallers are glad to stand in the presence of the advocates of slavery and rum,) and give 'a reason for the faith that is in them.'

Sir, what is the question before us? It is not, whether the Bible, in many parts of it, is not an invaluable book. It is. It is not, whether it does not contain many glorious truths and precious promises. It does. It is not, whether it has not many righteous commands and excellent precepts, which ought to be obeyed. It has. It is not, whether it has not been of more good than harm to mankind, in spite of all its errors and perversions. I believe it has.

The question is,—Is the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, an inspired book, so that we are bound to receive every thing as true in its pages, without submitting it to the test of reason? If it be not wholly inspired, as our friend, Mr. Storrs, admits it is not, then how much of it is inspired?

Rev. Mr. Storrs. All that claims to be.

Mr. Garrison. How much claims to be inspired, and how much not inspired—and who shall determine the question? I should like to see the man here—any where—to take that book, and, beginning at Genesis, proceed through the entire volume, and put his finger upon what he considers as given by inspiration of God, and see how much he will leave of it, and what are his ideas of inspiration.

Now, the assertion, that every thing in the Bible is inspired, is the height of absurdity. To say, for example, that it required a revelation from heaven to record the fact that Samson went to sleep with his head in the lap of Delilah—or that he caught three hundred foxes, and tied their tails together, and put a fire-brand between them—is folly. When it is narrated that a viper came out of the fire and fastened itself upon Paul's hand, is this inspiration? And so of ten thousand incidents chronicled in the Bible. What a man can see with his own eyes, it requires no supernatural aid to record. Hence, if only a part of the Bible is inspired, it is not wholly inspired; if only a part of it is from above, it is not all from above; if only some portion of it is sacred, it is not all sacred; and, therefore, what is generally claimed for it is false, and whatever is false is injurious to the world. How is the quantity of inspiration to be authoritatively settled?

All Christendom professes to receive the Bible as the word of God, and what does it avail? What does all Christendom say as to the teachings of the book? Out of this 'inspired' volume comes Romanism; for Rome believes in the Bible. Out of it comes Mormonism; for the Mormons believe in the Bible. Out of it come Episcopalianism, Swedenborgianism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, and all the other sects, whose name is legion. All these claim a divine sanction from the Bible; and yet they are strongly arrayed against each other—rejecting each other's interpretation of the book, and each aiming to exterminate all the rest.

Now, certainly, the Bible does not go for Romanism, and against it; for Episcopalianism, and against it; for Presbyterianism, and against it; for Methodism, and against it; for Universalism, and against it—&c. &c. &c. If it does, then it is a book full of glaring contradictions, and, of course, cannot have had a divine origin.

Who is it, I ask, that believes in the Bible? *What* is it to believe in the Bible? A man tells me that he receives it all as the inspired word of God. What does that prove? Nothing. It gives me no knowledge of his mind or heart. He might just as well have remained dumb. I therefore proceed to ask him, What does this inspired word teach and require? He begins to tell me; and I find he is either a Papist, a Mormon, a Swedenborgian, a Presbyterian, or a Universalist—and so on, *ad infinitum!* What, then, have I ascertained? What divine inspiration is? What the Bible actually enjoins? No—but simply what *he thinks* is inspired, and what *he interprets* the Bible to mean. Now, what he believes on this subject, is one thing; what the exact truth is, is quite another. The most any man can say, with any degree of humility, in regard to the Bible, is, 'In my judgment and my conscience, it teaches this or that doctrine, which I regard as heaven-derived'—but holding himself liable to be mistaken, and ready at all times to be corrected. We must have no papal assumption in this discussion. Thank God for the great doctrine of Protestantism—the right of private judgment as to the teachings of any book, as to what is the truth,—even against all ecclesiastical edicts and theological dogmas ever promulgated. 'So, then, every one of us must give account of himself,' not to the Romish Pope, not to the Presbyterian General Assembly, but 'unto God.' Therefore, it is your prerogative and mine, to take the Bible and examine it for ourselves—accepting whatever of truth, and rejecting whatever of error we discover in its pages, though all the rest of mankind dissent from our conclusions. This is not to be granted to us as an indulgence, but conceded as a sacred right, to be exercised without persecution or condemnation.

Sir, what does the Bible teach? One says, it teaches eternal punishment for the wicked; another says, it teaches no such doctrine, but just the reverse—universal and ultimate salvation. One says, it teaches that God exists in a trinity; another says, it teaches expressly the unity of God. In Russia, its religious expounders say it sanctions autocracy as a rightful form of government. Nicholas himself believes in the Bible, only it is the Bible so interpreted as to go for Nicholas. (Laughter.) In England, the Bible expositors say that it sanctions a limited monarchy, and enjoins this as a duty—'Honor the king.' In our country, they assert that the Bible goes for republicanism; and that no man should be king over us, Paul and Peter to the contrary notwithstanding. (Applause.) Is this to believe the Bible, or to reject it? Which is the 'infidel' party in this confusion of tongues? Again:—Does the Bible inculcate the doctrine of total depravity, and yet deny it? Does it go for immersion as the only true baptism, and then for sprinkling or for pouring? Does it allow taking oaths, and then forbid swearing under all circumstances? Does it sanctify the first day of the week as the Sabbath, or require the observance of the seventh day, or hallow all days alike? Does it teach the duty of total abstinence, and at the same time approve of the moderate use of intoxicating drink? Does it assert the equality of woman with man, or place her beneath him? Does it go for a union of Church and State? Of course it does, on the other side of the Atlantic; but, on this side, it does no such thing. Does it require temple worship, on stated occasions—or does it sweep it all away, and approve of that worship only, which is 'in spirit and in truth'?

To all these inquiries, the most conflicting answers are made by those who profess the greatest veneration for the book. It is as plastic as clay in the hands of the potter, and moulded into any conceivable shape. Is a man a warrior? He goes to the Bible with the war-spirit, and, running over its pages, he picks out what he says justifies him in his military profession. Is it with the spirit of peace that a man is imbued? He examines the book with that intent, and all he finds in favor of peace, he arrays on his side of the question. Does a man believe in enslaving a portion of the human race? Then he interprets the Bible in accordance with his theory, and proclaims the system to be divinely instituted. Is he an abolitionist? Then he does what in him lies to make it the ally of freedom.

So we have these various interpretations, and they are without end, whether relating to the existence and attributes of God, to the nature and mission of Jesus, to religious rites and duties, to matters of faith and practice, to what belongs to the past or concerns the future, to time or to eternity. Now, which of these is reliable, and who is to assume the robes of infallibility? Who accepts or who rejects the Bible? Is it Trinitarian or Unitarian, Calvinist or Universalist, Monarchist or Republican, Slaveholder or Abolitionist?

Now let us come to something practical. Here is the question of slavery. Shall we go to the Bible to learn our duty in regard to it, or to determine its character? We shall never settle it by any such reference. The Bible never yet settled any controversy. Every thing must be decided upon its own merits. We must judge of the tree by its fruit. Facts are more decisive than verbal declarations. Let us look at the slave system as it is, in a legal and practical point of view. If it works well for our country, and scatters blessings wherever it goes, then I do not care what any book in the universe says: I will go for it. But it is impossible to gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles.

Here is the question of capital punishment. How is it to be settled? By appealing to the Bible? Never. You may find texts on one side, and texts on the other; and all the time you are wrangling about what the Bible teaches, the necks of men will continue to be broken. Now, if it can be shown that the gallows prevents the shedding of human blood, restrains from the commission of crime, and benefits society, it needs no other defence. But this cannot be done, and the reverse of this is true; therefore, the gallows should be cast down, no matter what may be said in any book to the contrary.

So in regard to war. If its fruits are good—if it improves the manners and morals of those who engage in it—if it is promotive of human happiness and freedom, then its justification is made out. But if, on the other hand, it militates against the progress of the human race, and against human liberty, then it was never justifiable, and ought never to be countenanced.

Have we an infinite God or a finite one?—one who is the same from everlasting to everlasting, or one who has no fixed laws by which he governs the universe? Does God, in one age of the world, not only authorise but require his children to perpetrate deeds, which, in another age, are inherently cruel and morally wrong in his eyes? Are the laws of our being changeable? Are our relations to him, and to each other, evanescent or mutable, or are they not always the same, though often misunderstood and disregarded?

Now, remember, that moral distinctions are never interchangeable and never conflictive. Thus, 'war,' means all that belongs to war—'peace,' all that pertains to peace. If peace be right, and God requires it, war must be wrong, and God never authorised it. If God commands me ever to speak the truth, he never authorised any man to tell a lie. If God commands a certain thing to be done, as in accordance with his own will, and because it is right, at one time, he never commands an opposite thing to be done at another period. He never can make wrong right, or right wrong—what is obedience to-day, sin to-morrow. Otherwise, we have a changeable, fickle, finite God, who rules capriciously in the universe, and knows not what a day may bring forth. But the Bible represents God in this double character; therefore, it is fallible, and not divinely inspired.

I have no doubt that the writers of the Old Testament, whoever they were, believed what they put down when they wrote, 'And the Lord said unto Moses,' 'unto Joshua,' and to many others, 'Let this be done,' or 'See that ye do it not.' I do not accuse them of designing to palm off on the world a falsehood. I presume they wrote according to their highest conceptions of the character of God. Doubtless, they believed,—or, if you prefer, Moses himself believed,—that the Lord required all that is alleged by them. But this proves nothing, excepting that those writers, though honest, were wofully mistaken as to the mind of God, as many have been since their day.

What is to be gained by getting the assent of the whole world to the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Bible? You do not thereby attain to unity of faith or practice. I have said that all Christendom professes to receive the Bible as from God; yet all Christendom is full of strife in regard to what are the teachings of the book. What then is the conclusion of the whole matter? All that we can get from any one is, simply, what *he* believes the Bible teaches—nothing more. He may, or may not, correctly interpret its meaning; but his interpretation is not necessarily the Bible, nor his notion of inspiration, inspiration itself. Each one must decide for himself, and all dogmatism, self-conceit and infallibility must cease.

Those who make the loudest professions of faith in the divine authenticity of the Bible evince the most uneasiness whenever it is proposed to make an independent investigation of its claims. For example: this Convention was fairly and impartially called, in language wholly unexceptionable, and in a kind and magnanimous spirit; and the clerical advocates of plenary inspiration were especially invited to attend. Where are they? Will they say that the Convention is beneath their notice? Is this the reason that they are absent? We have had, it is true, two of the clerical profession to take the platform in opposition; but then, popularly speaking, they are both heretics. One is my old friend, George Storrs, whom I have not seen for some time—a man who, in the darkest period of the anti-slavery struggle, dared to look the Slave Power in the face, and stood up like a man in defence of the down-trodden slave, though branded as a fanatic and ultraist. He is here, but unfrocked by the popular clergy, and regarded as theologically erratic. He can afford to stand here better than he could to be an abolitionist, for it will cost him nothing. And his friend and associate (Mr. Turner) is in the same category, as to his theological views. None of us have any reputation to lose; and so we are all heretics together. (Laughter.) But where are the soundly orthodox and publicly recognised clergymen? Where are the teachers and masters in Israel? 'Instinct is a great matter.' If the educated, popular, 'evangelical' clergy of our country felt that they could stand on a free platform, and successfully discuss this question before the people, they would not be slow to come here, carry off all the honors, and put the laurel wreath around their brows. (Applause and hisses.)

One of my resolutions affirms unequivocally, that if public sentiment should demand of the American clergy that they cast the Bible into the flames, they would as readily do it to-morrow, as to-day they are loud and voluble in their endorsement of it, in accordance with public sentiment. Is this an unjust charge? Do not the facts of the case warrant it? Where, as a body, do they stand? Are they not always on the popular side—always going with the multitude, even if it be to do evil? When, or where, in any instance, have they dared to grapple with a corrupt public sentiment, and to run the risk of losing their salary and position in society? I tell you that the men who can see the image of God desecrated, and three millions of their own countrymen trampled into the dust, and turned into goods and chattels, and sanction the awful deed, because public sentiment demands it at their hands, are the men who would just as readily throw the Bible—all the books in the universe—into the flames, if the same pressure was brought to bear upon them as in the case of the enslaved in our land. The greater includes the less; 'for whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifies the gift'—a MAN or a BOOK? The clergy of the country, with here and there an exceptional case, have no other God before them than public sentiment. Just as public sentiment changes, they change. They have no 'higher law.' They are facile trimmers and obsequious time-servers. And it is so in the nature of the case; for, by their very position, they must necessarily conform to the views of their employers, or they will not be employed; and so they are fearfully tempted, all the way through, to suppress their convictions of duty, where an unpopular truth is struggling upward, lest they shall be turned out of house and home, with their wives and little ones, not knowing where to lay their heads. It is a trying and terrible position; and the wonder is not that so many of them fall, but that any of them are able to preserve their integrity. But they are none the less guilty for being thus tempted; for they claim to be dead to the world, ambassadors of the despised Nazarene, 'watchmen upon the walls of Zion,' and are therefore to be measured by their own standard, and condemned out of their own mouths.

Mr. Chairman, is it indeed true that the Bible is 'the word of God'? Is it 'able to make men wise unto salvation'? Is its circulation essential to the redemption of the world? So we are told by the clergy and the church. Then look at this soul-harrowing fact. As a nation, we are overwhelmingly orthodox; yet what are we doing? An act of unheard of monstrosity! We have deliberately conspired, with Satanic malignity, to prevent one-sixth portion of our population from having the Bible, so that they may not know what it is that God requires—so that they may have no chance for their souls' salvation—so that their eternal damnation may be made sure!! For is it not a fundamental doctrine in the orthodox creed, that those who die in their sins, unrepentant, shall be damned beyond recovery? And yet, this orthodox nation makes 'the word of God' a sealed book to three millions of people, who are groping in darkness, 'without God and without hope,' and, by reducing them as near as possible to the brute creation, endeavors to force them down to hell, under the slave-driver's lash! Oh! if there be such a place as the hell described, and if there be in it one portion lower and hotter than another, surely, it must be reserved for those who are doing this work of damnation to those whom they enslave!

But I am not willing to take the American clergy and church at their word, though they claim to be 'evangelical.' They cannot believe in such a doctrine, or in such a place of torment. It is too horrid a thought, that, believing it, they deliberately strike down the sacred institution of marriage, at a blow; make 'Sodom and Gomorrah' the condition of the whole Southern country; take away the Bible, and the means of learning the way of salvation; corrupt, debauch and imbrute, on a colossal scale; so as to make the damnation of their victims inevitable, according to their own creed! No, sir—I choose not to credit what they say they believe in regard to those who die unrepentant; for, otherwise, it makes them monsters in the universe of God. The truth is, their faith is abstract and traditional; they believe what it is fashionable to believe, and are careful never to be found in conflict with public opinion. Their piety walks in silver slippers.

The clergy generally teach that the Bible is from God, and we must not question its divinity or authority; and thus they attempt to stultify our reason. Then they claim that God has called them to be the expounders of his word. In this way, they acquire power, and subserve their own selfish purposes. They care nothing for the Bible, aside from their professional calling. It is 'the means whereby they live,' and get reputation and influence. They belong to the class whom Jesus branded as 'blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel'—'hypocrites, who shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves nor suffering them that are entering to go in'—'for all their works they do to be seen of men.'

Yes, sir—'to be seen of men'! They must be deferentially recognised in their professional garb, or their piety will not operate. Let me give you an illustration. Formerly, it was customary in our anti-slavery meetings to call directly upon this or that clergyman present to offer vocal prayer; and there was never any backwardness on their part, so long as they were singled out, and it was officially announced from the platform that 'the Rev. Dr. ——' or 'the Rev. Professor ——' would invoke the blessing of Heaven upon the object for which we had assembled. Afterwards, partly to give no offence to our Quaker associates, but mainly to abolish every distinction of this kind on the anti-slavery platform, this formality was dispensed with; and while, as hitherto, an opportunity was granted for vocal prayer, it was left to the spontaneous prompting of the soul that might feel moved to offer it, without regard to station. What, sir, has been the result? Those reverend interceders have never since offered up a single supplication, though sometimes present in great number! Yet they say it indicates a sad lack of devotional feeling to open such meetings without prayer in the manner designated. Why, then, have they remained dumb? No matter what may be their reply—their professional pride has been wounded, for they 'love to be seen of men.'

So in regard to the Bible. Professionally, they will do it homage, so long as they can profit by it. They will interpret it only to the extent that public sentiment will bear. They have no vision for the future, but live in the past. They dare not be men, now. No reformatory movement receives any countenance from them; for they are among the wise and prudent, and, instead of being willing to be made of no reputation, like the Master whom they profess to follow, demonstrate by their lives that they love the praises of men more than the praise of God.

I shall reserve what I have to say, in further elucidation of this subject, for another occasion.

THE BIBLE CONVENTION AT HARTFORD.

We made two speeches at that Convention, the first of which we lay before our readers in the present number. All that we ask in regard to it, is, that it be read with as little prejudice and as much candor as possible. If those religious journals, which have represented us as having uttered 'blasphemous' (!) sentiments on that occasion, would only copy what we said, in full, we would be content.

Bible Discussion. There is to be a public discussion at Salem, Ohio, commencing on the 4th of July, and continuing four days, between Rev. Jonas Hartzell, of Hopedale, Harrison Co., and Joseph Barker, of Salem, Columbiana Co., on the following proposition: 'The Jewish and Christian Scriptures contain a series of communications, supernaturally revealed and miraculously attested: from the latter, man may acquire a perfect rule of life.' The affirmative of the proposition will be maintained by Mr. Hartzell; the negative, by Mr. Barker.

Temperance Convention.—The State Convention met at Springfield, on Wednesday, last week, when Dr. Hitchcock, of Amherst, was chosen President; also, eleven Vice-Presidents, and four Secretaries.

A discussion arose as to the best manner to organize for the ensuing year; finally voted to appoint a State Central Committee, as in years past, as follows:—W. B. Spooner, B. W. Williams, Moses Mellen, Boston; Edwin Thompson, Walpole; Charles Jewett, Millbury; Jas. Eaton, Malden; W. R. Stacy, Boston; John I. Baker, Beverly; Zenas Bassett, Hyannis; Charles B. Wilder, Chelsea; Daniel Farrar, Lyman Beecher, Boston; Samuel Hoar, Concord; Enos Calkins, Palmer; Melvin Creland, Norwich; J. P. Williston, Northampton; Dr. Same, Williamstown; Wm Elliot, Granville; Jas. Ford, Abington; Darius Goff, Pawtucket; Thos. Bradley, Nantucket; Robert C. Pitman, New Bedford.

The Committee on Resolutions presented a series of seven. One relates to politics, recommending action through the primary meetings for the nomination of candidates, and where both parties refuse to put up reliable men, the nomination of independent candidates. The evening session was entirely devoted to speaking. Addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Wolcott, Mr. Kellogg, and others.

Death of Rev. Dr. Sharp.—Rev. Dr. Sharp, of Boston, died on Thursday evening, last week, at the residence of Robert Brown, Esq. in Storeley, a village about six miles from Baltimore, where he had gone hoping that a change of climate and scenery might be a benefit to his fast declining health. The deceased was 69 years of age on the 25th of December last. The remains reached Boston on Saturday, and were entombed on Tuesday.

The Attempted Negro Insurrection at New Orleans, &c.—A preliminary examination of Dyson, the man charged with inciting the late attempted insurrection among the slaves, took place at New Orleans on the 22d instant. The evidence was sufficient to induce the Recorder to bind him and the slave Albert over for trial in the District Court.

Smash-up and Death on the Western Railroad.—The mail train from New York did not arrive in Boston at the usual hour Friday evening, in consequence of an accident at the East Brookfield depot. The switchman *had turned the switch the wrong way*, in consequence of which the express train ran into a freight train on the other line. The engine flew from the track, the baggage car was broken in two, and the middle portion of it crushed to pieces; the first of the five passenger cars turned partly over, and was broken in at the back and side. William Johnson, of Worcester, had his skull broken, and was taken up dead. The others in this car, including deacon J. A. Palmer, Rev. Mr. Clark of East Boston, Dr. Lyman Beecher, and several reporters and delegates from the Temperance Convention, had a narrow escape. The second, third and fourth passenger cars were thrown from the track, and damaged. The daughter of the Rev. Dr. Neale, of this city, on her return from New York, was injured in the shoulder, but was able to come to town in the accommodation train, which brought down the mails and passengers. Mr. Russell, conductor of the express train, was badly injured. Others were seriously hurt. —*Boston Post.*

Terrible Death on the Maine Railroad.—Mr. Winthrop Richardson, a retired tailor, and a man very well known in this city, met with a shocking death on Saturday evening, near his residence in Stoneham. His daughter, Mrs. Henry B. Wood, with her child, had been paying him a visit during the afternoon, and at a quarter before six o'clock, took her leave of him at the house—which is but a few paces from the depot—with a view of returning to Boston in the six o'clock accommodation train. Mr. Richardson started from his house a few moments after, for the purpose, as is supposed, of seeing Mrs. Wood safely in the cars. As he approached the track, the Manchester express train hove in sight, and he saw it. He looked at it, as if to measure the distance, and then attempted to run across the rails. He made several jumps, and succeeded in leaping upon the platform; but, in so doing, lost his equilibrium, fell backwards, and was struck by the locomotive. His body was mangled into pound particles. His head was crushed into atoms; the warm brain was found upon the platform, the liver adhered to one of the brakes, the still throbbing heart was found upon a rail, and pieces of dissevered limbs were strewn along the track for some distance. Not a limb escaped unbroken, and never was mangling more complete. The engine was smeared over with blood, and particles of flesh adhered to it. Mrs. Wood was a spectator at the destruction of her father, and two or three other persons were standing near the station house at the time.

Mr. Richardson was forty-two years old. He was a man of some property, and among his estates he owned about seventy acres of land in Stoneham. He leaves a wife, and Mrs. Wood is his only child. He has several brothers, who reside in Worcester county, and one of them, Mr. Nathan Richardson, represents the town of Warren in the Constitutional Convention.—*Bost. Cour.*

Steamboat Explosion—Five Persons Killed.—On the morning of the 22d ult., the steam propeller Challenge, bound down from Chicago, exploded her boiler when 20 miles below Mackinaw, killing five of the crew, and severely wounding three others. The stern of the boat was entirely destroyed, and she sunk in five minutes. There were some fifteen passengers on board, who were picked up by the schooner North Star, transferred to the propeller Bucephalus, and carried to Detroit.

☞ The ship Aurora, Capt. Cherry, bound from Hull to New York, foundered at sea, taking down with her 29 of the crew and passengers. The captain and twelve others were saved.

Terrible Fatality.—No less than *twenty-nine* cases of sun-stroke, or sudden and dangerous illness from the effects of the heat, occurred in New York on Tuesday and Wednesday, of which *twenty-four* resulted fatally. The victims were principally laborers. Such a fatality from cholera would have spread consternation throughout the city.—*Boston Journal.*

Explosion.—The steamer Wayne burst her boiler in Newbern River, N. C., on Sunday, killing four men and one woman, all negroes. The boat afterwards sunk.

Loss of Life.—The whaling ship Benjamin Rush, which sailed for a cruise on the 13th of October, 1852, returned to Warren, R. I., on the 17th inst., having lost Captain Munro and three of the crew, (one of them named William Betts, of New York,) by a whale, on the night of the 24th February. Capt. M. belonged to Bristol.

Remarkable Escape.—The Montreal *Gazette* of the 1st inst., in a postscript, makes simple mention of a very remarkable escape of three hundred passengers from the consequences of a steamboat explosion. That number of persons had just landed from the steamer St. Pierre, when the boilers exploded, killing eight persons—all that remained on board of the boat. The destruction of the vessel was so complete, that very few of the three hundred could have escaped, if the explosion had occurred five minutes sooner.

☞ A terrible riot occurred on the night of the 22d of June, at the house of Dr. George N. Wheeler, in Seventh street, New York city, caused by the finding of some human bones on the premises. A mob of three thousand collected, armed with clubs, axes and stones. Dr. Wheeler's store and dwelling were attacked, and the inmates driven out, and the premises completely gutted. Nobody killed. Some of the police officers were injured.

Escape of Slaves.—Night before last, ten slaves belonging to citizens of Newport made their escape. No effort was made by the owners to capture them. The means by which, and the time when the river was crossed, are not known.—*Cincinnati Commercial, Tuesday.*

Slave Escaped.—A man named Geo. Slasher got on board the Telegraph No. 3, at Rising Sun, Indiana, on Friday night, with a negro slave, bound for Greenupsburg, Ky. He locked the negro in a stateroom, and proceeded to enjoy himself. Just after returning from a visit to the saloons, he heard a splash in the water, and soon discovered that his slave was gone. The supposition is, that the fellow jumped overboard and swam ashore.

☞ Dr. Maddox, of Louisiana, *en route* for the East, with his family, passed through Cincinnati on Friday last, and while there, gave freedom to three of his slaves, who were in company, one boy and two girls. He also gave them a liberal supply of money to provide for their wants until his return from the East, when he proposes to have their free papers regularly made out.

☞ A negro man died in New York last week from eating strawberries. A wager had been laid that he could not eat *ten baskets full*. He accomplished the feat, won the wager, and died almost immediately after.

Destructive Fire in Boston.—A fire broke out about 10 o'clock last Tuesday morning, in the granite stores Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 North Market street, owned by Albert Lawrence and occupied by H. Safford, chair painter; Marshall and Simonds, tailors; Eaton and Kilham, produce dealers, and Weld and Wellington, dealers in wines, &c. The damage by fire and water will probably reach $15,000 to $20,000 which is partially insured at the Merchant's and Fireman's offices in this city.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

☞ HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture on the Reforms of the Age, at East Abington, on Sunday next, July 3d. Text—'What shall we do to be saved?'

☞ PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will speak as follows:—
Hyannis ..... Sunday....July 3.

☞ A public meeting, on the Fourth of July, will be held in the Unitarian meeting-house at NORTH DENNIS, at which Parker Pillsbury will deliver a Lecture on the *French Revolution.*

☞ SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—
Dover, N. H. ..... Friday, July 1.

☞ OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. ANNUAL MEETING. The nineteenth annual meeting of the Plymouth County (Old Colony) Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Town Hall at Scituate, on Sunday, July 17.

The excellent place for the meeting, and the occasion, we trust, will draw together a goodly number of our friends from all sections of the county. Names of speakers hereafter.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*
H. H. Brigham, *Sec'ry.*

☞ PLYMOUTH COUNTY. A meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Bosworth's Hall, West Duxbury, on Sunday, July 10. Andrew T. Foss and others will address the meeting.

In behalf of the Society,
LEWIS FORD.

☞ MRS. ABBY H. PRICE, an Agent of the *Worcester County (South) Anti-Slavery Society*, will speak at SOUTH MILFORD, on Sunday, July 3d, in the Baptist house.

COLORED NATIONAL CONVENTION.

A Call for a National Convention of the People of Color, to meet at Rochester, N. Y., on the 6th of July, has been issued by prominent and well-known Colored men in New England and the Middle and Western States. The object is a free mutual conference upon their present condition, and the wisest means to be adopted for their welfare and improvement.

The Call is signed by Rev. Dr. Pennington, Dr. J. McCune Smith, Frederick Douglass, Wm. H. Topp, Geo. T. Downing, W. H. Day, Prof. C. L. Reason, C. L. Redmond, and twenty-five or thirty leading colored men.

☞ Letters and papers for LUCY STONE must be addressed to her at West Brookfield, Mass., until further notice.

DIED—In this city, June 28, at his residence in Chambers street, Allen Crocker Spooner, Esq., aged 39. His remains were taken to Plymouth for interment.

DR. JOHN V. DeGRASSE, M. D.,
Office No. 40 Poplar Street, ...BOSTON.

'PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.'

THE Proceedings, in pamphlet form, of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, recently held at Old Kennett, embracing the Minutes, the Exposition of Sentiments, the Testimonies on Intemperance, Slavery, War, Tobacco, &c., and the Letters addressed to the body by William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, T. W. Higginson, Cassius M. Clay, and others, are for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Price, 10 cents single; $1 per dozen.

☞ The avails will be expended in the gratuitous circulation of the 'Exposition of Sentiments,' which has been stereotyped for that purpose. Send in your orders before the edition is exhausted.

THE JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR,

A semi-monthly Paper, expressly for Children.

IT aims to attract the attention of children by simplicity and beauty of style, with engravings illustrative of its contents. Its object has been, for eight years past, to infuse into the young mind appropriate sentiments of respect for parents, sympathy for human suffering, and an abiding hatred of oppression in all its forms.

The want of a Juvenile paper that shall give a proper direction to the youthful mind in these times of strife for the supremacy of slavery, is felt by thousands who know not of the existence of this periodical. And yet, within the last eight years, it has moulded the minds of thousands of children who have grown up to manhood and womanhood, thoroughly imbued with the love of freedom for all men.

Price, 25 cts. per year, single copies; five copies to one address for $1 00; or $12 00 by the hundred, per year. Postage in New York State, six cents per year—elsewhere, 12 cents. But in packages of 24 or more, the postage, prepaid at the office of publication, is only four cents each per year.

Specimen number, free of charge, sent on application at the office of publication.

LUCIUS C. MATLACK,
*Editor

POETRY.

From the National Era.

THE EMANCIPATOR.

'And that ye break *every* yoke.'

The loud notes are echoing o'er land and o'er sea;
'Tis the march of the nineteenth century—
The quickstep of struggling humanity;
Unbind—unbind!

Unbind!
There are millions of hearts now keeping time
To that clarion voice; for its notes sublime
Are rousing the slumberers of every clime;
Unbind—unbind!

Unbind!
The slave hears the sound in the cane-fields afar;
He is dreaming of freedom—he will follow her star;
There are some who the wanderer's way will unbar:
Unbind—unbind!

Unbind!
What though the monarch still sport with his crown,
And the vaunting false priest wear the surplice and gown?
The people are mighty, and power must bow down:
Unbind—unbind!

Unbind!
The bridle of Custom is fast on us still—
Her bit in our teeth—and she guides us at will;
Poor fools! how she drives us o'er many a hill:
Unbind—unbind!

Unbind!
The world leads us captive; but we forge our own chain,
And wear it in spite of the gall and the pain;
Still we hoist up our banner, and strive to sustain:
Unbind—unbind!

Unbind!
The loud notes are echoing o'er land and o'er sea;
'Tis the march of the nineteenth century—
The death-song of wrinkled Tyranny:
Unbind—unbind!

JANE GAY.

Scotland, Connecticut.

From the Olive Branch.

FAITH AND DUTY.

BY NEALE BERNARD.

Something ever doth impress us
With a sense of right or wrong;
Something waiteth still to bless us,
As we journey life along;
Something viewless whispers to us
Words of hope and promise sure;
Voices speak prophetic through us,
Of a life that shall endure!

There's a silent, voiceless teacher,
Striving with the human will;
Unto each weak, earth-born creature
Wisdom's lessons doth instil:
Heed them, better grow and wiser,
They will soften life's hot fray;
Duty make your stern adviser,
Aim to reach the perfect day.

Trust the high hopes that impel us,
And inspire our firm belief,—
They alone can well foretell us
Human works how frail and brief:
Trust the GOD that reigns above us,
Faithful to his precepts be,
He will guide, and guard, and love us,
Through a blest eternity.

Heed the heavenly aspirations
That imbue with hope the soul;
Mark the glorious life-creations
Flowing in without control:
See in all things truth and beauty,
Love o'erflowing from the skies,
Exercising Faith and Duty,
Earth would be a paradise.

Troy, N. Y., May, 1853.

PERSEVERE.

BY D. N. PINE.

Young man, toiling on obscurely,
Struggling 'gainst an adverse tide,
With a high and honest purpose,
Which the mocking world deride;
Faint not, fear not, brave the current,
Face the storm, however rude,
Truth will triumph, thou wilt conquer,
God will ne'er forsake the good.

Do the proud deride thy calling,
Mock thy efforts at the start,
With the scoffing coldness galling
To thy proud and honest heart?
Persevere! attain a station
With the gifted and the great;
Those who now scorn thy vocation,
Yet will gladly kiss thy feet.

Has the venom'd breath of slander
On thy lonely fame been blown,
From the serpent-soul of envy,
That would keep the worthy down?
Persevere! with manly patience,
Time will heal the wound you feel,
From thy name such taint may vanish,
As thy breath from burning steel.

For encouraging example,
Scan the names on history's page,
Those who most their race have honored,
Giving glory to their age;
Names of Newton and of Franklin,
And a thousand more as bright,
Names that gain increasing glory
With the world's increasing light.

Persevere! unceasing effort,
Humble though and weak it be,
May o'ercome whate'er opposes,
And work miracles for thee;
Be assured reward will follow,
God will come to him who delves,
Honest industry must prosper—
'God helps those who help themselves.'

ON A SLAVE.

BY JOHN K. HOLMES.

Who wants to wear the bondman's chain,
The cankering links that bind the slave?
Who wants to sweat through years of pain,
And sink dishonored in the grave?
Because thy limbs are not made straight,
Because thy face is not made fair,
Must it be thy inglorious fate
To sink unpitied in despair?

If we are freemen, let us show
That we have souls that still can feel!
If we are strong, then let us grow
More lenient when the weak appeal!
They are the grand alone, who take
Their suffering fellows by the hand;
They are the brave alone, who break
The shackles that have cursed the land.

From many a rice swamp swells a prayer,
God of my fathers! unto Thee!
In many a cabin's tainted air
Tears fall like rain where none will see.
When the loud trump of Justice shakes
This nation to its mighty heart,
Then shall the sword that vengeance takes,
Make the last lank oppressor start.

SLANDER.

A slanderer felt a serpent bite his side;
What followed from the bite? The *serpent* died.

THE LIBERATOR.

THE NEW FAITH—THE AMERICAN UNION.

PARIS, March 25, 1853.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON:

SIR,—God has placed in the hands of men a sacred book, admirable in its infinite extent, and eternal in its invariable laws; by the study of which they may learn His will and their own duty;—the great Bible of Nature.

France has long sought to take the initiative in studying, in arranging and publishing the vast pages that science has already decyphered, till it may now be said that the researches of de la Place, of Geoffroy St. Hilaire, of Cabanis, of Gall, of de la Marer, of Bertrand de Rennes, and of the natural philosophers and chemists, their followers, form the basis of a creed, revealed by research, which is every day still further developed and propagated, in the enlightened part of the nation.

I, too, sir, who have the honor of addressing you, belong to this new faith, which takes physiology for the basis of its studies and its convictions; and I am still engaged in a work, the object of which is to collect the scattered opinions of science, and to connect the social, moral, historical and philosophical phenomena, till now isolated, by referring them to general laws. I desire thus to complete, by uniting them, the labors of those who have been my instructors in knowledge, and many of them my kindest personal friends, hoping finally to succeed in presenting Science to our own times under her religious aspect, as she has been, to the last century, under her philosophical one.

And well may it be deemed a religion—that science which elevates and consoles the human soul;—which is the bond of union between enlightened men of all countries;—which binds them to the magnificent nature they explore—to the universe of God;—a religion which, in its complete development, will be recognized as the fruit of that tree of humanity of which Christianity is the flower.

This being our point of view, my friends and myself—and, I may add, some young and generous disciples also—are filled with sympathy for your great enterprise, and most cordially applaud your efforts.

Every where does Nature, by those laws which, in the eloquent words of the Cardinal Bossuet, are the word of God or God himself, pronounce the condemnation of slavery, as it has long since been discovered she has done that of cannibalism. The study of human intelligence, and of the various races of men, and their geological connection with the soil on which they are born; the study of their divers aptitudes, their special qualities, and the results of their intermixture; the study of the successive religions which have enlightened and civilized them,—all leads us to think that our planet has been, so to say, *farmed out* to human nature; and that human unity, or *humanity*, that result of the peaceful association of nations, will be brought about by a general fusion, and by the education of races still in the inferiority of infancy, under the direction of their elders—that is, of those who have been the first to enjoy the privileges of civilization.

In this point of view, sir, the American Union has a weighty mission and responsibility. In the first place, and with all speed, to become strong and powerful to save and to cherish the slumbering liberties of the old world. Can she become so, while in her own bosom rests an element to which the passions of Europe can constantly appeal?

It is the right, it is the duty of the American Union to constitute, immediately, in one federative republic, the people of the American continent. This the American Union can never do but by abolishing slavery. In a religious, a social, a political point of view, emancipation is a necessity.

But here, sir, an immense difficulty presents itself, of which your manifesto takes no account. I consult history, and I find that the serfs of the middle ages *bought* themselves out of slavery; that it was with solid ready money that the communes paid for their liberties. And why this double fact? Because, in past times, the material aspect of society so greatly preponderated over its social and moral ones. In our day, *Mens agitat molem:* Mind agitates and animates the masses; but it does not yet so preponderate as to absolve us from taking seriously and practically into our account the ignorance and material tendency which still exist—the heritage of the past.

While, then, so highly honoring your cause, we view it under three forms:

First; the scientific, or religious form, which imposes upon the elder races the duty of emancipating their brethren of the younger ones.

Second; the educational form—the elevation of the man of color to civilization by means of instruction.

Third; the political form, which shall strive everywhere, by continual action [transactions*], to undermine and extinguish slavery.

I am about to leave Paris and return to Nantes, my home for twenty-three years. On the road and after my return, your manifesto will be the occasion of serious discussion and the liveliest sympathy among our most enlightened men. We love the United States with all our souls. We desire their greatness and their glory. It may be that we shall one day seek there an asylum. As philosophers, who have studied it, we hate slavery, under whatever form it presents itself. We rejoice in the invention of machines—those slaves of wood, iron and steam; the only ones that man ought to work, to the point of *using them up.*

Receive, sir, the assurance of our approbation in a cause so eminently grand and just.

Your most obedient servant,

A. GUEPIN,

Ex-Professor of the School of Medicine at Nantes, and Commissary under the Republic.

* *Pecuniary*, as well as legislative and judicial, is here intended by the writer.

☞ The following communication was written for the New York *Tribune*, but was meanly refused an insertion in that paper, though Mr. Greeley had previously published a series of scurrilous and malignant letters respecting the Bible Convention at Hartford.]—*Ed. Lib.*

HARTFORD BIBLE CONVENTION.

NEWARK, June 9, 1853.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

SIR,—In your paper of last Monday, I read a letter signed J. S. P., in which your correspondent blames the action of the Hartford Bible Convention, 'because mankind *needs* the consolation of a supernatural religion,' while every attempt to deprive men of this 'consolation,' by exposing its fallacy, is by him denounced as 'the most diabolical of crimes,' and he evangelically hopes that there may be a hell to engulph all who shake the popular belief in the so-called sacred writings. If J. S. P. had for a moment calmly reflected upon this subject, he could not have failed to perceive that the gospel offers very little of that 'consolation' which he so greatly prizes, for we read therein that the road to salvation is narrow, while the road to damnation is broad; also, that many shall be called to eternal joy, but few will be chosen—which is not very consoling for the mass of mankind. But if the moribund be rich, his chance is indeed hopeless, as the little story about the camel and the eye of a needle shows us. It is also evident that God will not eternally damn those whom he loves; that it is our duty to hate those hated by God; therefore, since the great mass of mankind is to be damned, it must be hated by God, and consequently by us—which benevolent sentiments, the churchmen seem in all ages to have fully carried out. We also read that the few chosen were inscribed in the book of life before the foundation of the world, and that good works cannot save those whose names are not written. Those, therefore, who die with a smile on their lips, cannot know much about the Bible, or, knowing, cannot believe—in either of which cases, they must be (biblically) damned.

If J. S. P. so highly esteems 'consolation,' he should denounce the Protestants, and pray that they be sent to hell for depriving so many of the 'consolation' which the Popish priests administer in the shape of a *wafer* to the dying sinner. These holy men absolve the dying sinner, which is indeed a 'consolation'; and if that will not make him smile, what will?—particularly if he has a very long score thus finally and satisfactorily cancelled. Deprived of this great 'consolation' of the Holy Mother Church, the poor wretch is left a prey to doubts and misgivings, whether he will be one of the few chosen or one of the many damned. Evidently, J. S. P. would send us to hell for using the right of private judgment, which is the foundation-stone of Protestantism. He would oblige us to think as he does, which is as bad as the Papists, without enjoying the poor advantage of their 'consolation'? Therefore, he had better speedily adopt their creed, and return to the bosom of the Holy Catholic Church.

Other opponents of the Hartford Convention assume that Scripture is the great support of morality; but I have not been able to find one moral passage therein, which is not to be found in other works on religion; whereas war, slavery, polygamy and despotism are defended on the authority of the Bible.

Faithfully yours, CONSOLATION.

PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS—A NEW RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION.

In conformity with the following Call, a large number of persons assembled in Old Kennett (Friends') meeting-house, Chester county, Pa., on the 22d of 5th month, 1853. The house was full in every part, many stood in the doors and passages, and a considerable number went away because they could find no room within the walls.

[☞ The Call referred to was published at the time in THE LIBERATOR.]

After a deeply instructive religious opportunity, in which opening remarks were made by Joseph A. Dugdale, vocal prayer offered by Jonathan Lamborn, and a testimony borne in favor of practical holiness by Thomas M'Clintock,

William Barnard briefly stated the objects of the meeting, and nominated Joseph A. Dugdale to act as one of the Clerks, *pro tem.* Hannah M. Darlington proposed Sidney Peirce for the same duty. Both propositions were accepted by the Conference.

Communications, of an instructive and interesting character, were read from the following Associations and individuals, viz.:

The Western Quarterly Meeting held at Kennett Square, Pa.; Salem Quarterly Meeting of Progressive Friends, Ohio; Hopedale Association, Massachusetts; Theodore Parker, Massachusetts; John G. Forman, do; Gerrit Smith, New York; Samuel J. May, do; Edward Hull, do; Cassius M. Clay, Kentucky; James Belange, Illinois; Daniel Ricketson, Massachusetts; Drayton M. Curtis, Ohio; Wm. L. Garrison, Massachusetts; Thomas W. Higginson, do.

The beautiful trust in the Truth, which these communications evince, is cheering to us. While the writers may differ in sentiment from us upon speculative theology, we are gratified in recognizing them as co-laborers in the practical work of love and charity. We welcome their paper messengers. We rejoice that we are in circumstances this day to receive, read and consider the views and sentiments of those from whom many of us have heretofore been separated by the superstitious arrangements of sectarian order.

[We give below some of the Letters received and read at the Kennett meeting.]—ED. LIB.

FROM THEODORE PARKER.

BOSTON, 2d May, 1853.

DEAR FRIEND: I rejoice in your movement for *real religion.* It seems strange that men make such a *mystery* of religion, when itself is so simple. There is only one *religion* in the world; it consists of two elements, namely, PIETY, the Love of God, the poetic element, purely internal; and MORALITY, the keeping of the natural Laws of God for body and soul, in all departments of human life.

There are various *helps* to the acquisition of this one religion, and various *hindrances* with the name of helps—bad machinery which men have set up to manufacture religion withal, and various *theories* about religion—various theologies; still there is only ONE religion.

Of this the Jew has some, the Hindoo, Mohammedan, Idolater, Christian, each has some. No sect has all; no race of men is wholly destitute of religion.

The great error of all the Christian sects at the present day, I take it, is this:—1st, they start with *the idea of an imperfect God*, a God who is jealous, selfish, revengeful and destructive, who is a tyrant, and made the world from a mean motive, and hence a mean purpose; 2d, they start with the notion that this imperfect God has made a *miraculous revelation* of Himself in time, (and that revelation is contained in the *Church*, as the Catholics say, or in the *Bible*, as the Protestants say,) which is to bind all the human race forever, and is the ultimate standard of appeal in all matters of religion (and philosophy, some say.)

Then out of these two notions they construct a scheme of theology, which is at variance with the best principles of human nature, and teach it in the name of God and religion.

If I understand it, the Progressive Friends will start with the idea of the *Infinite Perfection of God*—that He is perfect in Power, in Wisdom, in Justice, in Love, and in Holiness. Then they will take the Bible for what it is worth, and develop religion in *a natural way out of their own souls.* I rejoice in your movement, and wish I could be present with you on the 22d, but it is quite impossible; so you will please to accept my best wishes, and believe me truly yours,

THEODORE PARKER.

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, for the Committee.

FROM SAMUEL J. MAY.

SYRACUSE, May 17, 1853.

DEAR FRIENDS:—To no meeting have I ever been invited, in the object of which I feel a deeper interest, than the one you will be holding in Old Kennett, on the 22d. It has long been a matter of sore lamentation with me, that so many, who really love God and man, should be alienated from one another, and refuse to cooperate, because they are not agreed upon questions of doubtful disputation. That mere sectarians, those whose pride, passions and personal importance, if not livelihood, are pledged to or dependent on the maintenance of certain theological dogmas, by which they are distinguished—that *they* should keep apart, is not to be wondered at, nor indeed is it much to be regretted; for they would come together but to wrangle; they subsist but upon those things about which they disagree. But, that men and women, who really desire that God's kingdom should come upon earth—really desire that human suffering should be relieved, human ignorance enlightened, that vicious men should be reclaimed, injured men redressed, and sorrowing men be comforted,—that such as these should keep apart, where united effort would be so much more effectual to the ends they all desire—that they should look coldly upon one another, distrust one another, and allow the common cause—the world's redemption—to languish, rather than unite to carry it on—this is indeed a sore evil; and it is worthy of all the consideration you propose to give it. In times past we held a succession of meetings in Central New York, the object of which was the same as yours. Much good, I believe, was done by those meetings, because many enlarged, generous, Christian sentiments and principles were announced, and eloquently maintained at them, and so disseminated. Those meetings were interrupted by the attempt to take a fellow-man from our very midst into the hell of Slavery; and now that the Jerry Rescue case is pretty well settled, we mean to resume our Christian Union Meetings.

By what device of ours, if any, the evil we deplore can be overcome, I am less prepared to show, than I am to show up the evil thing itself.

Not by any organization, any new Church, will the union be effected. All ecclesiastical bodies grow and subsist upon what they take from individuals—and sometimes they suck into themselves all the blood of individual life.

Now, I hold, with Dr. Channing, that 'the individual is greater than the Church,' or the State. And Churches and States, and bodies politic, ecclesiastical, conventional and social, of every name, are valuable only so far as they encourage and aid the growth and development of the individual mind and heart. Whenever united men (let the object of their union be what it may) overbear, oppress, discourage the individual man, they become an evil, and are to be resisted.

No other organization, therefore, of those who may enlist in this Christian Union effort, will be needed, or would be good, than such organization of meetings as is found convenient for the transaction of business while together. All that it now seems to me we can do to attain the object, to which your meeting of the 22d calls the public attention, is, to keep on exposing the evil of division among those who love God and man, and the unspeakable good that would flow from greater union—all the while availing ourselves of every opportunity that may offer, to coöperate heartily for truth and righteousness with those who are most shy of us on doctrinal or ceremonial matters, that they may be made to know the pleasure and advantage of such coöperation.

I well remember that, in the first years of the Anti-Slavery movement, those who became so much interested in the cause of the enslaved as to be willing to bear the reproach of abolitionists, seemed to forget that they belonged to different sects. I used to be invited (though a Unitarian) to preach in Orthodox pulpits, and to commune with Orthodox Churches—and I received from several brethren of 'the straitest sect' some precious confessions of the joy of a larger fellowship than they had theretofore been used to.

It is necessary, more than all, that we show the people that true religion does not abide in a form of words, however ingeniously devised and logically bound together, but in that spirit in man which always prefers what is true to what is false, what is right to what is wrong, the law of God to the law of man. It is necessary men should be brought to see and own that a theoretical infidel, who is a good man, just, merciful and humble, (however far off he may be,) is very much nearer the kingdom of Heaven, than a theoretical Christian (exact though he be in all external observances) who is oppressive, uncharitable or proud. He is most of a Christian who most nearly resembles Christ in his character—not he who cries Lord, Lord, never so devoutly, but he who habitually strives to do the will of the Father in Heaven.

Yours, affectionately,

SAMUEL J. MAY.

FROM WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

BOSTON, May 19th, 1853.

BELOVED FRIEND:—Nothing keeps me from your gathering of free and truth-loving spirits, to assemble at Old Kennett on the 22d instant, but the close proximity of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention.

I regard your meeting as one of deep interest and universal importance. Its object, as set forth in the Call, commends itself to my understanding and my heart. It is to form a model religious organization, in which unity shall be attained without constraint,—the spirit of progress recognized as without limitation,—the claims of humanity made paramount to all other considerations,—and free speech and free inquiry conceded as the right of every soul, essential to growth 'in knowledge and in grace,' and the best preservative against heresy, whether real or imaginary.

Whether your movement be successful or not, it is worthy of commendation,—a sign of the times equally cheering and prophetic. I see no insuperable difficulty in the way of success, provided the truly catholic spirit evinced in the Call brood over and pervade your deliberations. Of course, every religious association will be what its members are collectively; if they are upright, fearless, honest, and progressive, so will it be. The greater includes the less; the stream cannot rise higher than the fountain.

The questions naturally arise,—How shall this new association be organized, and what shall be its claim? Of whom shall it be composed? What shall be its distinctive object? To what extent shall conformity be required? What is implied by connection therewith? And what shall be its creed and discipline?

In attempting to answer these questions very briefly, (for I write in haste, being straitened as to time, and would not infringe upon that of your meeting,) I do so in no spirit of dogmatism, but with all deference to the opinion of others, and simply as an expression of my own sentiments.

1. 'How shall this new association be organized, and what shall be its claim?'

I answer—It must be purely voluntary, withdrawal from which, at any time, without reproach, shall be the right of every member. It must lay claim to no special divinity. It must not indulge the idle dream of perpetuating itself from age to age, and hence make its safety and growth the chief object of its solicitude; for, in the nature of things, all human agreements, compacts, alliances and organizations, are mutable, and tend to decay. It must be regarded simply as a means to an end—and that end the personal liberty and religious improvement of every human being. It must not predicate any thing of piety or philanthropy upon the mere fact of membership; for 'all are not Israel who are of Israel.'

It must not assume to be the one true, infallible and impeccable Church, or even a branch of it, which it is a religious duty to join, and out of the pale of which, there are none but heretics. It must not go back to the past—not even to apostolic times and usages—to determine what shall be its form or order; for what in one age may be truly serviceable, in another may prove positively detrimental.

2. 'Of whom shall it be composed?' It must recognize no distinction as to complexion or sex. 'Whosoever will, let him come.'

3. 'What shall be its distinctive object?' Practical righteousness; the discovery of truth, and its application ('without partiality and without hypocrisy') to individuals and communities, to customs and institutions, to sects and parties; the acknowledgment of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

4. 'To what extent shall conformity be required?' Not in matters of taste and amusement; not in a distinctive outward garb or mode of speech; not in theological opinions; not in regard to religious rites or ceremonies; but only an approval of the object, in the promotion of which every human being has an everlasting interest.

5. 'What is implied by connection therewith?' A friendly and loving spirit, but not necessarily an endorsement of the religious character or opinions of any member; for as the association is to be without sectarian exclusiveness, so it is not to exercise sectarian discipline; and, therefore, it must leave with its members, in their individual capacity, the responsibility for their course. 'So, then, every one of us must give account of himself unto God.'

6. 'What shall be its creed and discipline?' No other creed is needed, no better one can be devised, than that which Jesus gave in his day:—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself'—'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' No discipline will work so effectively, or keep the association so pure and vital, as untrammelled speech and the largest liberty of discussion; for these are incompatible with superstition, tyranny, corruption, ambition, phariseism, worldliness, and crime. Where these are really enjoyed, as well as conceded in the abstract, no bull of excommunication will ever be found necessary. 'The wicked flee when no man pursueth, but the righteous are as bold as a lion.' True, such liberty may be abused, and in some instances will be abused; true, it may subject us to hearing some sentiments distasteful, offensive, and even highly reprehensible; true, some may attempt to run before they are sent, and essay to speak when they ought to be silent; but the evil is only incidental, and will prove efficacious in enabling us all to 'possess our souls in patience.'

Such, briefly, are the suggestions which occur to me at this moment, and which I deferentially submit for the consideration of your meeting. I shall be with you in spirit; I regret that I cannot be so in bodily shape and presence. 'Grace, mercy and peace be with you all.'

Yours, for the world's redemption,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, of the Committee.

FROM THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

WORCESTER, May 20th, 1853.

DEAR SIR:—It seems to me that no thoughtful and religious person can help seeing that we stand at the beginning of a new religious dispensation. There is not a sect in the land which does not lament the languor of its own organization, and the increasing indifference of its members. And every sun that rises sees a more hearty sympathy among good men of all denominations. Every day brings together new thousands, who, ten years ago, thought themselves hopelessly separated from religious communion with each other.

I know of no illustration strong enough to express the rapidity with which the way seems to me preparing for a renovation of all our Church organizations.

Two principal influences seem to me to be producing this effect:

1. The practical philanthropy of the age and nation; since no healthy-minded man can co-operate with men of different creeds and connections in any reform, without coming soon to take the practical agreement for more than the theoretical separation.

2. The development of such various forces of a simple Natural Religion, which, strengthened by the experience of many centuries, and especially by that of Jesus and his friends, is at length prepared to abandon some of the technicalities and all of the assumed infallibilities which have been useful as a temporary stage of progress. It is coming to be seen that inspiration is nothing, unless it is near and now;—that the deification of Jesus is actually a robbery from humanity of its noblest representative;—and that the case becomes even worse when the idolatry is transferred from him to the imperfect records of his life; and we risk the peace of mind of the whole race on the literal interpretation of the wild legends of a narrow, fierce and imaginative ancient nation. It has been peculiarly sad to see the Christians of New England, and the Society of Friends throughout the country, —the two organizations from which the natural succession of religion and freedom would seem to proceed—to see both of these bodies giving in their adhesion to the letter which killeth; and then when occasion offered, taking up the work of killing with their own hands, and attempting to murder the reputation of those who early made consistent application of the principles which were originally committed to them.

I am thoroughly convinced by the experience of the 'Free Church' in this city, that we have no adequate conception of the number who are prepared, or preparing, to abandon their present sectarian connection whenever a favorable opportunity shall be given. I am acquainted with no religious meeting so absolutely free from all sectarian bias or connection as our own, except the Society to which Theodore Parker ministers in Boston, and the remarkable prosperity of these two, in their respective spheres, is a proof to me that such movements in our large towns have now become not desirable only, but altogether practicable. With cordial sympathy, I am your friend,

THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

To J. A. DUGDALE, of the Committee.

FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO', N. Y., April 9th, 1853.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I have this moment read your letter, and also the circular which accompanied it. I thank you for both.

I know that I should be greatly instructed, could I attend the meeting to which you invite me. But I cannot attend it. So excessive is my private business, that I never could attend a large share of the meetings which I wished to attend. Now, however, I can attend none, or nearly none, for I am working very busily to get my business into such a shape that I can leave it next December, the time when I have to take my seat in Congress.

I hope that Heavenly wisdom may guide your assembly.

I believe in a Christian Church, but not in the ordinary sense of the word. Wherever there is a company of Christians, there is a Christian Church. My doctrine is, that the Christians of the place are the Church of the place, and equally so, whether they are Baptists, or Quakers, or Presbyterians, or Roman Catholics, or Methodists, or Universalists, and equally so, too, whether they do or do not believe in water baptism, or the Lord's supper, or the Sabbath. Sectarianism is the greatest curse of the world. In haste, your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

To JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, of the Committee.

LUCY STONE BEFORE THE MASSACHUSETTS CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

Extract of a Letter from CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, published in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*:—

The Convention to amend the Constitution of Massachusetts is now in session at the State House in Boston. A petition, asking that when the amendments are submitted to the people, women may vote on the question of their adoption, had been referred to a Committee; which had consented to give the petitioners a hearing on its behalf. The Committee sat in the Senate Chamber, which will hold several hundred persons, and which was filled at an early hour with a mixed assembly of men and women of various sentiments, including some who belong to the first rank of Boston society, but all evidently agreeing in one thing—an eager desire to hear the advocates of the petition.

Lucy Stone spoke first, and for half an hour enchained and delighted the audience with an exceedingly beautiful and impressive address, simple and clear as daylight, strong in its array of pertinent facts and plain, forcible exposition and application of principles, apt in illustrations, and at times melting the hearts and moistening the eyes of her hearers by passages of touching pathos, made all the more effective by the plaintive modulation of her soft, gentle voice, sweetly in harmony with the thoughts it uttered. The scene was fit for a painter, and none but a master of his art would have been fit to attempt its delineation. There, in the centre of the hall, stood the slight form of that noble little woman, small in stature but large of soul, and grand in the magnitude of a lofty purpose; her bearing modest and dignified, her face radiant with feeling, and speaking all over, as it were, in eloquent accord with her earnest voice. Before her, on his raised seat of official distinction, sat the Chairman of the Committee, grave in demeanor, and trying occasionally, almost in vain, to preserve, during the recital of some moving tale of woman's wrongs and sufferings, that fixed composure of countenance which his station is supposed to require. Around him, the other members of the Committee, and the miscellaneous congregation filling the whole chamber, were listening in the attitudes of close attention, and answering with changing countenances—with smiles, or grave fixed looks, with shaded brows and starting tears, —to the changing tone and tenor of the speaker's words. If the scene could have been truthfully and worthily transferred to canvas, it would make a grand historical picture, not unworthy to rank with those which illustrate and commemorate the great events of the past; the forward steps of humanity in its onward and upward march. The time may come when the world will be glad to have —if it can but get—a faithful picture of the first appearance of a woman before the framers of the fundamental law of the State, to demand for her sex that equality with men in political rights, which is the inevitable logical inference from the political theories of our nation.

But to return from this digression. After Lucy had resumed her seat, Wendell Phillips rose, and presented an argument of about an hour's length, of which it is praise enough to say that it was every way worthy of his reputation, and was listened to with the lively interest and pleasure which his speeches are wont to awaken and impart. At the close of his remarks, the Committee rose and the audience dispersed. I am told that it is hoped there will be another hearing, when Lucy will probably appear again before the Committee, with other able and distinguished speakers, who had not an opportunity of addressing it at this time. I know also that there are men in the Convention—how many I am not aware, but, I think, a very respectable minority—who are in favor of granting what the petition asks for. At all events, a beginning in a great work has now been fairly made.

MISS LUCY STONE.

The New York *Independent* appropriately speaks of Lucy Stone as stating the case of a slave mother with '*terrible distinctness.*' In substance she said:

'Look now upon that frenzied slave mother. The slave-catchers are in hot pursuit. She flies ——her babe is across her shoulder—its little arms around her neck. 'Stop! stop!' they call out, 'or we'll shoot you.' She heeds not. Bullets whistle past her, yet on she presses. One bullet strikes the head of the dear child, and the blood and brains are dashed out on the face and bosom of the mother—yes, the mother! She quickly turns and throws her expiring babe on the pavement, saying to them, 'take that!' and away she flies from their fiendish grasp, to a land of freedom.'

Mothers, when your children die, what do you do? You prayerfully sit by them, and watch their gradually receding spirits; you feel the last pulse —you catch the last gleam of that eye—you carefully and affectionately fold those beautiful, those lifeless hands—you kiss again and again that white, noble, cold brow—you neatly attire that body for some sweet resting place amid green grass and weeping willows—there you place your child, while sympathizing friends mingle their tears with yours. On that loved grave you plant roses, and all is peace.'

Those readers will most appreciate the 'terrible distinctness,' who have heard Lucy, as they only can know the deep and subduing pathos of her voice, and the irresistible eloquence of her childlike manner. The beauty of the whole is, that she did not appear in the least conscious that she had produced any marked effect. She had electrified her audience; she had scattered Baltimore Platforms, Fugitive Slave Enactments, Union Safety Committees, and Lower Law Doctors of Divinity to the winds—and she looked as quiet and lamblike as if nothing had happened. Oh, shame! shame! to ever talk of excluding from the World's Temperance Convention, that gifted angel of mercy, —LUCY STONE.

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June 6 4m

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March 11. 3m

A NEW ANTI-SLAVERY WORK FROM THE SPIRIT WORLD; being twelve Discourses on Government, by THOMAS JEFFERSON, through John M. Spear, Spirit Medium, with a preface, by ADIN BALLOU. For sale by BELA MARSH, No. 25 Cornhill, Boston. Price, single, 12½ cents; or ten copies for $1.00.

May 6—3m.

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JARVIS D. BRAMAN.

Boston, June 17, 1853.

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Boston, April 20, 1853.

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